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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED IN MEMORY OF
MARY KINGSLEY



NO. VI. JANUARY

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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

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1903

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

THE PEOPLES OF THE ANGLO- EGYPTIAN SUDAN

THAT large portion of Africa which lies between the 5th and 22nd degrees of N. Latitude, and which extends from Suakin on the Red Sea to Wadai and the watershed of the Congo and Niger on the west, termed Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, is peopled by races and tribes almost as varied as those of the inhabitants of India.

As the Sudan may be roughly divided into two zones—the wet and the dry, so the inhabitants of this large part of Africa may be classed under two headings—the Negro and the Arab. The Negro occupying the tropical and wet zone and the Arab occupying the desert or dry zone.

Each of these again can be divided into numerous tribes and sub-tribes and peoples, while during the last century the influx of foreigners from the north in the shape of Turks, Syrians

Egyptians, and Europeans has added to the varied and cosmopolitan population which now inhabits the lands under the Star and Crescent and Union Jack.

There seems little doubt that at one period the Negro occupied the country as far north as the present Wady Halfa, but invasion of Arabs and Semitic races from Arabia and the north of Africa, in search of slaves and booty, gradually drove the Negro back to those latitudes where he is now the aboriginal race.

NEGRO TRIBES.

Of the Negro, or Sudanese, as he is termed in the Sudan, there are many tribes. The most important of these are the Shilluk, the Dinka, the Nuer, the Nuba, Niam Niam, the Nuak, Bongo.

The Shilluk tribe inhabit the west bank of the White Nile from Kaka to Lake No. They are a fine race, fairly numerous, more advanced in civilisation than any other Negro tribe, with laws and customs of their own which date back many centuries. They have a King called a "Mek," who is hereditary, and administers a despotic rule in the capital at Fashoda. The men are mostly six feet high; of a somewhat lazy and happy-go-lucky nature, loath to work, fond of sport and ease; they make brave and good soldiers when trained, and have always held their own against the inroads of slave hunters and other enemies. They ornament their hair in a fanciful and peculiar manner by mixing clay and cow dung and working it into a solid mass, which sticks out in the shape of a fan or cock's comb from the head. For clothes a loose cloth is hung from the shoulder diagonally across the body, while an ivory bracelet ornaments the right arm of the more important personages.

They carry well-made spears with long bayleaf-shaped heads, which are always kept beautifully bright and clean. The women on the other hand are allowed few ornaments. Their heads are shaved, they wear skins for petticoats, while a string or two of beads round the neck is the sole ornament.

The women do all the labour; they sow the grain, they watch the large herds of cattle, they fetch the water, while the lord and



The Mek (face page 122).
THE MEK OR KING OF THE SHILLUKS WITH BODYGUARD AT KARTUM.
Reproduced by permission from Photographs taken by Mr. TOSTIG.

master is either engaged in smoking his pipe of peace or in chasing some wild beast.

The Shilluk is above all honest, and few and far between are cases of theft ; in consequence of this, they used to be much prized as slaves and fetched higher prices than others. They are much addicted to smoking, and drink a sort of beer known all over the Sudan as Merissa. They are nominally Mohammedans, but by far the greater part of them have no religion at all.

They are good cattle breeders, poor agriculturists, but experts at hunting game.

Their standard of morality is high compared with other Sudanese. In addition to spears the Shilluk in war time always carries a club, and shield of hippopotamus hide as well. The national dance in some parts resembles our "lancers," and men and women dance together, the men at times crossing sticks in imitation of warfare, while the women clap their hands and sing, the drum is beaten with unceasing vigour and rapidity in the centre of the dancers. The Shilluks build excellent houses called Tukls, of a bee-hive shape.

Next in importance to the Shilluk among Sudanese tribes comes the Dinka.

The Dinka tribe occupy the west bank of the White Nile from the Zeraf River north to Abba Island, and also parts of the Bahr Ghazel ; south of that river they are divided into numerous sub-tribes, of which some are very truculent and warlike. It was the Agar Dinkas who in January 1902 murdered a British officer, Lieutenant Scott-Barbour, and a convoy while passing through their country.

As a tribe the Dinkas are much broken up. They have no "Mek" or King and are constantly quarrelling among themselves and with their hereditary enemies the Shilluks. They have few customs or laws, but are great believers in spirits, and invoke the aid of all sorts of fetishes to obtain information and cures. The men go naked except north of Fashoda, while the women, naked in some parts, wear clothes and aprons in others. The great occupation of this tribe is cattle breeding, and a man's wealth is entirely gauged by the numbers of his herds. The women are married in exchange for a certain number of animals

given to the parents,¹ these vary according to her beauty and social position. Both men and women are tall and lank, and are seldom to be seen stout, the men usually average about 6 feet and both sexes have high cheek bones and prominent teeth.

The men are armed with spears and shields, and their dances are much the same as the Shilluks.

The Dinkas, like the Shilluks, grow few crops, but in good years a certain quantity of dhurra is planted. Their country abounds in grass and swamps and the men are adept and skilful hunters, often going among herds of elephants to spear a good tusker, and spearing hippopotami in the water from ambatch² canoes.

The Niam Niam or Cannibal Sudanese tribe occupy the extreme South-West of the Bahr Ghazal province. They are confirmed cannibals and sharpen their teeth with stones. They are shorter than most of the Negro tribes, and are dirty and lazy. They have a great belief in spirits and fetishes. Their features are squat and ugly, and the men are often found with beards—an unusual thing among blacks. They have a very low scale of morality.

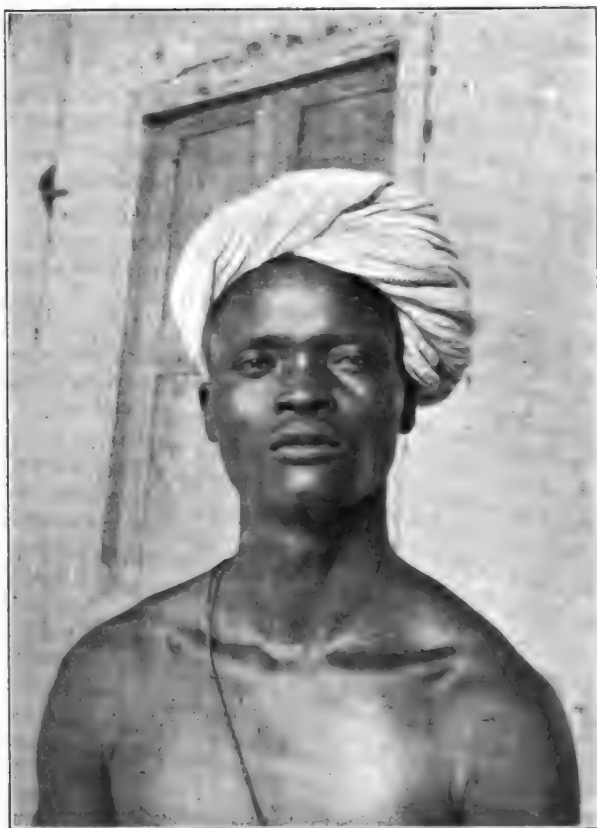
The Nuers, another important tribe of Blacks, inhabit the country south of the Sobat River towards Uganda. Of all Sudanese tribes these are the least friendly and least civilised. The men and women are naked, their occupation is cattle breeding and fishing, they are constantly raided on the Abyssinian border for slaves, and this no doubt makes them hostile to all comers.

A Nuer lady's full dress consists of a girdle of dried leaves. They are an unfriendly and untrustworthy tribe and should not be approached by Europeans without a strong escort, as they are treacherous and bloodthirsty.

The Nuba tribe of Sudanese are perhaps one of the best if not the best of Sudanese tribes; they are not a large tribe but inhabit the southern hills of Kordofan, they have a King or Mek.

¹ *Note.* Is this "dower," as in other Negro tribes, a sum which is destined to be returned, *inter alia*, as a provision for the woman if she is forced by ill-treatment to return to her parents, or to be forfeited if she herself offends? (ED.)

² This is a sort of light pith.



[Face page 125.]

A CIVILISED SHILLUK.

Reproduced by permission from Photographs taken by Mr. TOSTIG.

In the forties a Catholic mission was established among them and worked well.

The Nubas are a clean good looking race, both men and women have good features, are tall, and well made, and built more in proportion than the lanky Shilluk and Dinka.

The Nubas were always, formerly, most sought after and prized as slaves owing to their docility and loyalty to their masters. They are loyal supporters of the Government and make excellent soldiers.

Of the other Sudanese tribes such as the Nuak, Ferowis, Bongo, Borfellata, and Fur tribes little need be said. There is only one other tribe of Sudanese or Negro descent that calls for mention and this is the tribe of the Fungs, on the head waters of the Blue Nile. In ancient days this tribe was very powerful and enlightened. They had a large kingdom on the Blue Nile with a capital at Sennar where their kings ruled. They were known to be a learned and a clever people, and were visited by wise men from Arabia, though little now remains of their past glories.

ARAB TRIBES.

Arab tribes may be roughly divided into two great classes, the Nomad and the Sedentary; as these are, however, mixed up, I will take them as they are found from South to North.

Bordering on the Black tribes of the White Nile and Bahr Ghazal are the Baggara Selim, with the Baggara Homr in the Bahr Ghazal. There are many distinct sub-tribes of Baggaras who were the most formidable of Dervish tribes. All Baggaras are great horsemen and great cattle breeders, they were the Khalifa's favourites and from them he selected all his Emirs and officers. They are bloodthirsty and cruel, but very hardy, and wonderful horsemen.

A state of perpetual war existed formerly between these Arabs and the Soudanese Blacks. They are very dark skinned and very dirty in their habits and clothes, the women are lighter than the men in colour.

All Baggara Arabs are Nomad Arabs with no fixed homes, they move over the country to wherever the grazing is best.

The Selim Baggara are great hunters and wonderfully bold

in attacking on horseback buffalo, elephant, rhinoceros, &c., of which they kill annually a good number with spears.

The Selim extend on both banks of the White Nile below Abba Island, while the Taaisha Baggara occupy the South and South-West of Kordofan. This last tribe furnished the Khalifa's bodyguard in Omdurman.

On the upper waters of the Blue Nile the Kenana Arabs are found ; they are also met with in Kordofan. The people of this tribe are very black in appearance and of fine physique but they are truculent and unreliable. They are a warlike tribe and were some of the Khalifa's firmest supporters. They are now more Sedentary than Nomad, though being a little of both.

Other Arab tribes adjoining the Baggaras, Kenana, &c., are the Lahawin who inhabit the country between the two Niles. This tribe owns large herds of cattle and is semi-nomadic ; it is famous for the date and gum baskets which the women weave out of the bark of the Lahaw tree, whence their name is derived. The Halloween (great agriculturists) are found south of Khartum ; this tribe is Sedentary and famous for its crops of dhurra which are more carefully cultivated on the rain lands than anywhere else in the Sudan.

The Maghraba, Messalamia, Nefidia are small tribes inhabiting the Ghezira, as the country between the two Niles is called. All are Sedentary cultivators. These tribes build beehive-shaped houses out of the dhurra stalk, and their villages in the distance look like rows of haystacks ; they surround each village with thorn fences to keep out jackals, and wild animals. Their wells are few and far apart and they think nothing of fetching water thirty miles in skins on donkeys. During the rains they cultivate dhurra and cotton and weave their own cloth. The men are of a light brown colour and the women fair ; they all have a lot of Negro servants who till the soil and intermarry with their masters.

They make salt by boiling salt water in earthenware jars till all the water is evaporated.

To the West of the White Nile, South of Omdurman are found the Hassanieh, a large powerful tribe, camel and horse owners of a semi-nomadic class.

They are lighter in colour than the Taaisha, whom they have



SHILLUK WARRIORS.

Reproduced by permission from photographs taken by Mr. TOSTIG.

[Face page 127.]

always hated. Close by them are found near Duem the Hawazma, a tribe nearly decimated, as were all the Kordofan tribes, by the Dervish hordes.

West of these we come to the southern branch of the great Kababish tribe. It was this tribe, who also have a northern branch occupying the desert south of the Dongola known as the Kab, that provided camels and gave great assistance to the British in 1884, and were nearly decimated by the Mahdi in consequence later.

The Kababish are a fine bold tribe, great camel breeders and owners, and formerly did all the carrying trade in gum, ivory, and feathers from Darfur and Kordofan north. They are entirely Nomadic and wander over the great Bayuda and other deserts. When rain falls they cultivate a little dhurra. The men have good features and the women are fair and good looking. All live under temporary shelters made by putting camel-hair rugs and mats against trees. They are only just recovering from the Dervish rule which all but exterminated them.

To the East of the Blue Nile are found the Shukerieh tribe, a very large tribe of semi-Nomadic and semi-Sedentary pursuits, great camel owners and cattle breeders. They extend from the Blue Nile to Kassala and Abyssinia. There are several sub-tribes. This tribe was, like the Kababish, very loyal to the Government and suffered correspondingly at the hands of the Dervish. The tribe can be relied on; they are honest and truthful.

North of the Shukerieh between the Atbara and the Nile are found the Battalim, a tribe nearly wiped out by the Khalifa, for their constant raids and thefts from his caravans passing up to Omdurman from the Red Sea. In appearance they are fine looking men and the women fair, but by nature they are thieves, and it is sometimes a matter for consideration whether the much abused action of the Khalifa in hanging them by thirties at a time was not a well-merited punishment.

Extending along the Nile north of Khartum and Omdurman are to be found the remnants of the once powerful Jaalian tribe. This tribe, which was one of the first to join the Mahdist revolt, suffered probably more than any other from the Dervishes in the

end. In 1896 the Dervish General Mahmoud advanced north and wiped out Metemmeh. The heaps of skulls and bones to this day testify to the massacre throughout the country.

The Jaalin is a Sedentary tribe; they are good husbandmen and traders, famous for their boat building, clothmaking, and industries generally. They are of fairer countenance than most other Arabs and the women are often extremely pretty. Their houses and villages, which were all destroyed by the Dervishes under Mahmoud, were extremely well built and cared for, and this tribe generally, was one of, if not the most powerful and enlightened in the Sudan. As traders they make good merchants and business men. They are cunning and foreseeing, and are to be met with all over the Sudan in different places wherever there is money to be made in trade.

West of Jaalin and occupying the great bend of the Nile to Abu Hamed and inhabiting the valleys and recesses of Jebel Giliff are to be found the Hawawir and Sawarab tribes also camel owners and Nomad Arabs. They fought well for us against the Dervishes in 1896 and 1897 and were constantly descending on and raiding the Dervish wells near Omdurman.

To the East of the Atbara, and between it and Suakin and the Red Sea, various tribes of purely Nomad Arabs are met with; of these the most troublesome are the Resheida. This tribe originally emigrated from the Syrian coast, they are extremely truculent and great slave runners, all slavery that manages to escape the Government of to-day is done through this tribe. They are fierce and warlike and occasionally met with armed. They obtain slaves in twos and threes and pass them down to the coast, thence shipping them in dhows to Jeddah.

North of them are the Beni Amer, Hadendowa, and Bisharien of which tribes a great deal might be said. The Hadendowa wanders over the proposed railway line from Suakin to Berber, he is immortalised by Kipling as the Fuzzy Wuzzy, owing to the extraordinary manner of doing the hair, which sticks out in a mat of short plaits from the men's heads and is generally pierced with a long wooden pin.

The Hadendowa was one of the Mahdi's and Khalifa's firmest supporters and he has probably cost the British Government more in ammunition and money at Suakin than any three other



[Face page 128.]

HEAD OF A JAALIN GIRL SHOWING HAIR AND NECK ORNAMENTS.
Reproduced by permission from Photographs taken by Mr. TOSTIG

tribes put together. The Hadendowa may be termed an entirely different people, they are very dark skinned, nearly black, and have a very fierce and warlike appearance : with a round shield and spear they have accounted for many enemies, their features are handsome, the women are ugly. They are a dirty race and appear never to wash. At Assuan they are met in great numbers with the Bisharien selling beads and skins to tourists.

North of the Jaalin are found a mixed race known as Berbers or the inhabitants of the Berber district, these are mostly descended from merchants who formerly came to and settled in Berber and are consequently very mixed, they however are good agriculturists and cultivate the banks of the Nile. In former days Berber was a rich and powerful city, being the starting point of all caravans for the Red Sea and Suakin. These natives must not be confused with the Berberi tribe that inhabit the banks of the Nile between Assuan and Halfa, [as the two are quite distinct.

North of the Berbers are found the Robatab, a now quiet and peaceful tribe with good houses and cultivation ; the Robatab district is famous for its dates and matting, and the many rocky islands covered with trees which exist in this reach of the river make it one of the prettiest on the whole Nile.

The Robatabis build the best houses in the Sudan and their villages are clean and neat, they cultivate wheat and dhurra, but their land is poor and stony. At the commencement of the Dervish Rebellion the Robatabis were one of the first tribes to join the rebellion.

The Monassir tribe, a somewhat truculent people, occupy the part of the river between the Robatab and the Dongola Shagieh *i.e.* from Abu Hamed to Merowi. Their cultivation is confined to small patches of soil here and there among the Cataracts which extend for over 100 miles on this bend of the river here flowing from N.E to S.W. It was this tribe that decoyed and murdered Colonel Stewart and his party, and the remains of his ill-fated steamer can be seen to this day on a rock at low Nile.

The Robatab and the Monassir are very similar, and both keep very much to themselves.

The Dongola province, the most prosperous from an agricultural point of view, is peopled with Sedentary Arabs called

Shagieh ; and to the North of the province, with Mahassi and Sukkotis. All are famous for their date growing and crops. They are a peaceful people of a copper colour, fine build and open faces.

The Danagla live in the Dongola province along the river between Sukkot and the Shagieh. They are clever people, good agriculturists ; but rather fanatical. The late Mahdi was a Dongalawi boatbuilder. Although considered Sedentary Arabs they wander all over the Sudan in pursuit of trade.

The Sukkot and Mahass people are mainly servants in Egypt and leave their homes to their families while they demand exorbitant wages as waiters grooms and cooks from the tourists and Europeans of Cairo. They are great litigants and from their touch with civilisation they return full of ardour for litigation. Their morality is good and their houses are clean and well kept. They also make good boatmen and are experts at growing dhurra and other cereals. The women weave and make pottery.

North of Abu Hamed is the great Libyan Desert, now crossed by the Sudan Government Railway. This desert is peopled by the Ababdeh Arabs, who have always been loyal to Government, and whose head Sheikh, Saleh Bey, was killed fighting for the Government. The Ababdeh Arabs are great camel owners, and used formerly to do all the carrying to and fro from Korosko. They stretch from Assuan to Berber, but have a Sedentary contingent with headquarters in Egypt, a few miles north of Assuan, at Daraw. The Berberi tribe, a Sedentary class, live on the bare banks of the Nile between Assuan and Halfa. The men live almost entirely by being servants to Europeans ; they make the best servants in a country where all servants are execrable, and their wages are little short of, and in some cases more, than are paid to European servants. They also make good boatmen. Their houses are small and dirty, and even when wealthy, as the majority are, they do little to better the condition of their families and lives.

As a tribe they are by far the most prosperous, and poverty is unknown. They inhabit the most inhospitable regions in the whole length of the Nile.

Mohammedanism prevails in the Sudan except among the



[Face page 131.]

NU'BAWL.

Sudanese Women and Children.

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Negro tribes that still remain pagan. Owing to having been out of touch with centres of learning Mohammedanism has, in the Sudan, declined to a very fanatical and unorthodox type. South of Khartum the tribes are always ready to listen to any person who announces that he is blessed with divine inspiration, and as a consequence false prophets are constantly appearing and have to be carefully watched and suppressed.

It was, for example, announced by some fanatics that the promised Mahdi was the Dervish who killed Gordon, and that consequently, the present era was that of our Saviour, that whatever a man or woman did was right, as being the Millennium, every action was inspired of God.

These utterances however were contrary to the Moslem law, and as they also advocated an upheaval and a breach of the peace, had to be promptly suppressed. The drinking of wine and free love were advocated : a doctrine not calculated to improve the general tone of morality which already leaves a good deal to be desired.

Hospitality, especially to travellers, is met with throughout the different tribes, it being considered a want of good breeding not to offer the stranger the best of everything procurable ; it is also considered an equal insult when the hospitality is not accepted.

The great want of being able to tell the truth, and the thieving propensities among the natives generally, are their worst characteristics, but taken as a whole the peoples of the Sudan are law-abiding and peaceful, and only require handling with a strong hand to bring them in due course into the ranks of good and peaceful citizens.

The paucity of the population, so much decimated by recent wars and troubles, is the one great hindrance to the advance of this country, which, however, in due course of time should become one of the most prosperous in the world.

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CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN WESTERN AFRICA

IN writing this title, I cannot help remembering that it is not quite four years ago since I returned from the Sudan with my friend Chevalier, who is now continuing his naturalist mission in the district of Lake Tchad; when people asked our opinion respecting the profit Europeans could obtain from Western Africa, and we answered "cultivate cotton," we were looked upon as Utopian dreamers and almost accused of not understanding anything of a country which we were, however, the first to have studied from an economic point of view.

Since then, matters have changed indeed: societies of encouragement for the culture of cotton in Africa have been formed in Germany and in England, and France has followed the impulse.

Yet, I feel that especially in England and in France the case is considered simpler than it really is, which makes me anxious to inquire into the conditions of the existing problem.

The Germans are unquestionably more advanced in this respect. The best way is to examine first what they have done in Togo. A recent visit to Berlin has allowed us to get better information than we had.¹

The "Kolonial Wirtschaftliches Komitee," the technical organ of the German Colonial Society, founded in 1900 a society of studies to provide for the expenses of the "Togo Cotton Expedition." The necessary capital was furnished by the German Colonial Society which gave the proceeds of a national lottery started specially for that purpose, and by all the large manufacturers and traders concerned with textile matters.

¹ Baumwall, *Expedition nach Togo-Kolonial Wirtschaftliches Komitee*. 1 br. Berlin.

The committee, following the line of conduct it had always pursued, confided this mission to specialists and applied to the "Normal and Industrial Institute" of Tuskegee (Alabama, U.S.A.). The director placed at the disposal of the committee Mr. James Calloway, director of the cotton section of the Institute, and three foremen chosen from amongst the certificated members of the Institute, two agriculturists and a mechanic, all three belonging to the black race, and therefore able to withstand the African climate. The equipment was also provided by the Institute: ginning machines, presses, ploughs, agricultural tools, wagons, and seeds.

The expedition went to the Misahohe District, where the seat of the experiments directed by Mr. Calloway was established. At other places in Togo experiments were made by Messrs. Gruner, Schmidt, and Kersting, whose labours confirmed the results obtained by Mr. Calloway; results which we will now consider.

The ground chosen was formed of a sub-soil composed in a great measure of red gravel covered by a layer of humus, thin in the higher and deep in the lower parts. The light soils were chosen for cultures exposed to heavy rains, to enable the water to run off quickly, and thus allow air to reach the roots.

The work began in the middle of January 1901. Two hundred natives were engaged. Men paid by the day were to cut the brushwood; better workmen, coming from the coast, and paid 75 pf. were to fell the trees and tear up the roots; women paid 35 pf. and children paid 20 pf. were to gather up the roots and burn them.

The first idea had been to till the land with ploughs, and American-like the expedition had not brought any pickaxes, being convinced that agricultural machines were very superior to hand tools. The mistake was soon perceived, and 50 hectares had to be cleared up by means of pickaxes borrowed from the neighbouring plantations. Twenty oxen and twenty horses were bought in the Sudan for drawing the ploughs and carts. It was found easier to train horses for ploughs than oxen. But the tsetse flies appeared and the animals perished in May, June, and September. The greater part of the work had to be done by hand.

Seed was sown during six months, and Mr. Calloway considers the time can be divided into two periods : from March to June, and from July to August. As soon as the first rains began, 27th March, three-quarters of a hectare was planted with American cotton. The plants grew quicker and better than in America. A month later they had reached a height of 0.50 m. April, in which there was a slight rain, was a good month for sowing. Five hectares were planted with American cotton, and in May the plantation was increased to ten hectares.

Owing to the death of horses, oxen were from that time a great help in preparing the soil for seed.

The month of June appeared very favourable to the growth of the plantations, but very little sowing was done, the rains being too frequent and heavy.

A field for experiments was created in the middle of June ; different species of American, native, and Egyptian cotton were planted in ten sections. The manure used and brought by the expedition consisted of phosphoric acid and potash. By the end of the month all the plants had come up successfully.

The cotton planted in March, April, and May had produced good results, when disastrous rains came in July : most of the pods of the first plants were destroyed. The heavy rains were followed by fogs and cold nights, the cotton was covered with mildew, and the pods became mouldy before opening. All the plants sowed before July produced only two bales of cotton, and the field was destroyed.

In July and August, 10 hectares were again sowed with Egyptian and American species. The rains were less heavy in September and October, but clouds and fogs were persistent. At the end of October the sun shone, and the temperature was higher ; the plants revived, and the light rains of November and December brought what in America would have been called : " Half a crop."

A small extent of ground was sowed in October, but without great success, for the rain that followed later was not abundant enough.

On the whole, from the cultivator's point of view, Mr. Calloway's experiment comes to this : we must wait for sowing

until the season of heavy rains is well over, and we may thus obtain good results with American species.

And still better results will be obtained if cotton seeds are used as manure—whether the oil has been extracted from them or not—or if artificial manure consisting of potash or phosphoric acid be used.

The American agriculturist considers that by means of crossing American cotton with native cotton, we can create a new species, which, being able to stand the climate, may give a good result as regards both quality and quantity.

This short analysis shows with what care the experiment in Togo was carried on. We may now inquire how far it can be turned to account, and we shall rely on the results obtained by the Germans as to cost to see what practical conclusion may be reached.

The most important question to examine first of all is that of climate.

When speaking of West Africa we must distinguish between the countries of the tropical zone, and those within the 500 kil. extending along the littoral from French Guinea as far as Cameroon. Their climate is as different as are the races which inhabit them.

Among tropical countries we must also distinguish—although it is a matter of less importance—between those countries which we shall call the Sudan proper, which extends from the Niger to the Tchad (to speak only of West Africa) and the districts of Senegal and Gambia.

In fact Senegal has in some parts an almost Saharan climate while in others, as in the border countries of Casamance and the Gambia, the tropical climate is somewhat modified by the presence of rivers, although drier than that of other more southern countries.

On an average there falls yearly in the Sudan but 0·60 per cent. of rain, and the dry season lasts eight months, whereas in the countries along the coast the average rainfall is greater and the dry season shorter.

In Casamance and Gambia there falls about 0·70 per cent. of rain, the dry season being almost as long as in the tropics.

In the countries farther south, the duration of the dry season

is much shorter and the drought much less complete, fogs and dews keeping up an almost continuous humidity. The yearly rain on the Gold Coast, Togo, Dahomey, varies in height from 1m. 20c. to 2 metres, and falls almost entirely from April to the middle of October.

We must set aside the southern parts of French Guinea and Sierra Leone, in which there falls from 4 to 6 metres of water owing to the existence of forest clad mountains, whence the Niger rises. We have seen how the 1·80 per cent. of rainfall in Togo spoiled the cultivated cotton. It is therefore useless to encourage that culture in this zone of diluvial rains, which extends for a distance of 200 kils. at the back of the coast line. There is certainly an indigenous species, but it is almost wild, and the natives have very nearly given up cultivating it in those countries. Climate is indeed the cause of this, and not merely the existence of European cotton goods, as in Dahomey for instance, where these goods penetrate quite as abundantly, the cultivation of cotton has been kept up.

If one plants at the end of the rainy season in Guinea and in Sierra Leone, there is not, as in Togo at the end of the dry season, sufficient moisture for the plants to grow. Therefore our efforts in those countries ought to be turned to the regions of the interior near the Sudan.

With this exception the climate of West Africa is on the whole very suitable for the culture of cotton, on account of the dry season when the crop can be gathered without fear of rain. The experiment of Togo, as was rather to be expected, proved that the Sudan, and in general the tropical countries of Africa, have a climate preferable to that of the countries adjoining the coast, because the rains are less abundant.

Together with the climate we must also take into consideration the nature of the soil.

There is one point which cannot be too thoroughly understood, although it is not the general opinion: it is that the soils of West Africa are imperfect soils. This special feature is only recognised generally in the land of the Sudan, which people following Lord Salisbury, are accustomed to look upon, quite falsely, as barren soils, while the soil of the colonies on the coast is held to be rich. The fact is that often when the

vegetation appears exuberant, it is simply because the plants of that region have perfectly adapted themselves to the soil ; and if the soil is not modified all intensive culture, or any introduction of new plants, or improvement of indigenous species, is most difficult, if not impossible.

The proof of this is that the natives grow crops in rotation, and only cultivate the same land at intervals of four or five years.

The most serious matter is the total absence of lime in the soil, and there is often very little potash ; besides which, although the ground is fairly charged with vegetable mould, nitrification is often difficult.

The countries of the coast have therefore an advantage over those of the interior, to which it will be more expensive to send chemical manure.

Yet the countries of the interior, the Sudan for instance, will have this advantage over those of the coast, that the harvesting and removal of cultures will be more easy ; and here we come to the nature of the labour which will be required to cultivate cotton in West Africa.

Here also the distinction we made respecting climate must be taken into serious consideration. Clearings are in fact much more difficult in countries where the rains are heavy. We may consider that wild vegetation covering the ground is of two kinds—the tall Guinea grass which grows to a height of four metres and the thick brushwood. Of course we do not speak of the great forest regions which must be worked last of all. We may admit in a general way that the whole soil of West Africa—except the forests—has been put under cultivation by the natives, the brushwood marking the regions where cultivation has longest been given up.

The Sudan offers this advantage: that there brushwood is very rare, outside the region that forms the borderland of the Sahara, which is filled with false gum-trees and mimosas. We must remember, too, that in countries with a partly equatorial climate where fogs and dews maintain a constant vegetation, grasses can only be partially destroyed by means of fire ; while in countries with long months of drought vegetable life is stopped almost completely ; the brushwood is entirely burnt

up, and the tearing up of the roots is easier where the ground is left bare. I know it might appear more rational not to burn the grasses but to bury them, but I doubt whether it would be very profitable to do this over large tracts. The fertilising value of these dried-up grasses cannot be much greater than that of their ashes, and the difference would not make up for the extra expense incurred by pulling them up without a preliminary fire. Besides, it would be dangerous to bury dry matter, as the fields would soon be infested by termites attracted by the detritus, and the seeds would soon be devoured. In reference to this, we must not exaggerate the havoc done in the seed plots by termites, unless imprudences such as we have alluded to be committed. In Togo the Germans have experienced some loss arising from this cause, but they do not seem to consider them as very serious. Seeds must germinate rapidly, and as soon as life begins termites attack the plants much less. At any rate, the danger might be avoided by plunging seeds before sown into some liquid, the taste of which would keep the insects away, a plan often practised by the natives.

If lands are more easily cleared in tropical countries than in semi-equatorial ones, the care of the plantations is also easier. Weeds spring up in those humid countries in a most exasperating manner, and long years of work are needed to rid the ground of them. We must thoroughly understand that hoeing is by far a greater expense than clearing or preparing the soil; and not to take that into account would lead to serious disappointments when reckoning the general expenses of cultivation.

In my opinion, the necessity of constant hoeing is the principal obstacle Europeans would find in undertaking the cultivation of plants which would not naturally offer a certain resistance to weeds, or the value of which would not be in proportion to the space required for their cultivation as is the case with ground-nuts, sessame, mountain rice, etc.

The distinction we have made between the tropical countries and the semi-equatorial countries of the coast, is moreover felt in the way in which clearing and hoeing can be carried out in West Africa. Only Americans, not understanding the African brush-wood, could have started without taking up any other agricultural

implements than ploughs, as did the members of the Togo expedition, but they soon found out their mistake.

To tear up tufts of roots of the Guinea grasses, when the soil is dried up requires the use of implements that actually break up the ground, and yet the use of such implements has the disadvantage of mixing the poor earth of the subsoil with layers of superficial humus, a matter to be well considered in countries where it is difficult to procure manure.

Besides the existence of tree roots would make the digging in difficult. Until further investigation, we have to accept the fact that in semi-equatorial countries clearings must be made with hatchets and pickaxes.

The clearings once properly made, and in many cases this cannot succeed in the first year, we think the plough ought to be used, as there will no longer be the fear of mixing the superficial humus with the earth of the subsoil, and it is not difficult to work the subsoil with ploughs and scarifiers without going deeper than is desirable.

The Togo expedition decided to use the plough for cultivation, but we have seen that it was much impeded by the sickness and mortality among the animals, and this is a difficulty which will stand in the way of agricultural undertakings on the coast, as oxen and horses are there in a constant state of sickness. However, the head of the Togo expedition does not think it an insurmountable obstacle; he has had ploughs drawn by men and the work was cheaper than that done by pickaxes, but it only corresponded to two-thirds of the work which could have been done by a small horse, and Mr. Calloway gives the following calculation:—

Two months or 50 days of work done by 4 men at the rate of 0.75 pf. a day cost 150 marks, whilst a horse can be bought in Togo for 60, 70, or 80 marks. If it dies after 50 days, it will have done one-third more work than the men, and there will remain a difference of 70, 80, or 90 marks for its keep; and besides it is well known that plough work is preferable to that of man. Therefore the American engineer concludes that we must not be checked by the fact that animals die after a short time of work, since the cost of them has been, so to say, regained. This opinion is corroborated by the experience of the military engineer

who is constructing the railway in French Guinea. In that country, the animals are almost as sickly in the neighbourhood of the coast as in Togo. Yet it has been found an economy to use them for drawing waggons, until the state of their hoofs unfits them for long work. Moreover healthy animals being killed for the food of the workmen, a part of their value is thus recovered. In Guinea these animals give two months of work which corresponds to what has been obtained by the Togo expedition; yet very robust animals have worked for two years. It would evidently be a gain to study this question more closely.

In the Sudan and in Senegal we shall not be troubled with the problem of the health of animals; the climate agrees with them and they can do good work, besides the species is stronger and gives better results. In some countries, as in the plains near the Niger, the feeding of cattle is much easier owing to the existence of the "bourgon," a sweet plant that forms large pastures in the bed of the river; and the oxen themselves would hardly cost more than 40 or 50 francs, the average price on the coast.

As for the question of labour, the Sudanese lands offer this special advantage that in many districts the clearing can be done by ploughs, as the grasses which cover them are easily pulled up after being burnt.

Nevertheless the use of agricultural implements must remain a complicated question in West Africa, especially at the outset; those therefore who devote themselves to agriculture will require a considerable number of labourers. I will not now insist on the fact that in most cases the necessary labour can be procured. I have already spoken on this matter in the African Society's Journal, and it seems to me that gradually the public will no longer cling to the phrase: "the black man will not work."

Agricultural undertakings have increased already in Congo, Cameroon, Togo, and French Guinea, and not one has been impeded by any difficulty about labourers, unless by the fault of the agents. I repeat again that in this respect the Sudan can offer special facilities, the population being greater than on the coast and more inclined to hard work. At any rate, labourers would be much cheaper. In the plains of the Niger men would probably cost 5*s.* a day, and the children 2*s.*; whilst on the coast the lowest price is 7½*s.* for men, and 5*s.* for children.

On the whole we find that the countries of the interior are in every respect superior to those of the coast for the cultivation of cotton : a more suitable climate, a soil easier to clear and till, the possibility of rotation of crops, the weeds less persistent, greater facilities for the use of agricultural implements and draught animals, and good working people in almost unlimited numbers, whose labour is given at a very cheap rate.

The only point of inferiority is the distance, which causes difficulties in the export of products, and high cost price for artificial manure—reduced it is true by the possibility of getting large quantities of farm manure.

Before going further we must try to understand the details of cost so as to know the actual sum spent in conveying cotton to the coast. We shall thus be better able to arrive at a conclusion.

Before the Togo expedition the position was rather vague ; but the results obtained have been so strictly criticised that we are able to trust to them until further investigation, and to start from these results to argue the point.

Mr. Calloway allows that unginned cotton can be bought from the natives at the rate of 25 pf. for 3 English pounds. He has found that native cotton, as now produced in West Africa, gave 500 pounds of ginned cotton from 1800 pounds of raw cotton, and the following calculation establishes the net cost of a bale of cotton sent from Togo to Bremen.

Price of purchase of 1800 pounds of seed-cotton at the rate of 25 pf.									
for 3 pounds	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150 marks
Ginning by machine, hand worked	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20 "
Cotton baled, press worked by hand	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 "
Carriage by means of waggons drawn by men from Tome to Lome	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 "
(110 kil.)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 "
Shipping	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40 "
Freight to Bremen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10 "
Landing, Insurance, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	255 "

The average price of cotton is at present about 43 pf. a pound, which brings the bale of cotton to 215 marks. Mr. Calloway further reckons the value of cotton seed turned into oil on the spot, or used as seed, at 10 marks per 1000 or 1300 pounds, which could be got by treating the 1800 pounds of raw cotton, so that the total value would amount to 225 marks.

We see therefore that there would be a loss in carrying out the operation.

But if, instead of dealing with native cotton, we succeed in obtaining a new species by means of crossing with improved cotton, which Mr. Calloway thinks feasible, we shall only require 1500 pounds of raw cotton to obtain 500 pounds of this ginned cotton.

If, on the other hand, we use a locomobile to move the machines, Mr. Calloway estimates the cost of ginning at only 10 marks to obtain the bale of 500 pounds. In America that operation only costs one dollar, but in Africa the cost would be higher on account of the price of fuel, repairs of machines, salary of engineers, &c.

Should steam presses be used the size of the bales would be reduced, the freight lessened in proportion, and the following valuation will be obtained.

1500 pounds of raw cotton at 25 pf. for 3 pounds	...	...	...	125 marks
Decortication by steam	...	...	...	10 "
Bale made by steam	...	...	...	5 "
Carriage by waggon to the coast	...	...	...	25 "
Loading	...	...	...	5 "
Freight to Bremen	...	...	...	25 "
Unloading, Insurance, &c.	...	...	...	10 "
				<hr/>
				205 "

If a railway was constructed connecting the interior with the coast, the carriage, including the freight at 30 pf. per, kilometric ton, would only cost 10 marks, which would bring the price of the bale of 500 pounds conveyed to Bremen to 195 marks, leaving a margin of 30 marks for the sale price, or a little more than 50 fr. for the ton of 1000 kil., a profit which the American agriculturist thinks ought to be considered sufficient by African traders; his report showing that it is equivalent to that they make on palm kernels.

We may gather from these figures many remarkable lessons. First, and above all, how great is the importance we must attach in this business to the question of cultivation, since we find it is only by obtaining improved species that we may hope to turn African cotton to account; further, that the amount set down for carriage is very small.

From prices obtained by the Togo expedition we find the cost

of transport to the coast is only 200 fr. per ton, which must cover not only the carriage to the coast from the points whence the cotton is drawn, but the general expenses of cultivation, the European staff, the sinking of capital and the profits.

The points nearest to the coast seem therefore to stand first for development, and yet we cannot help maintaining that efforts should be chiefly directed to the interior.

As we have shown, as far as cultivation is concerned, the planter will be in a far better position than on the coast, and we cannot impress this too seriously on our readers. Moreover we must not forget that there are many parts of the interior easy of access, as for instance the banks of such large rivers as are navigable from the sea, the Senggal, the Casamance, and above all the Niger as far as Bousa and Benue.

One illusion we must guard against: there is no point along the coast of Africa—except perhaps on the plains of Senegal and the Saloum—where cultivations like that of cotton can be undertaken: marshes filled with mangroves in French Guinea, Sierra Leone, and the Oil Rivers; sand and forests and lagoons stretching back from the Ivory Coast; such is the coast for about 60 kil. inland.

Railways will therefore be necessary to carry the products from the first districts which can be cultivated, while the very banks of the rivers we have mentioned can be turned to account, and when made valuable will furnish enormous quantities of cotton.

The English are especially favoured in this respect, and we would advise them to carry their first efforts into Nigeria. There they will find populations among whom the cultivation of cotton is already of considerable importance; and the large steamers, going up more than 600 kil. into the interior, will carry at a freight a long way below the 50 fr. a ton of the supposed railway of Togo.

In the same way the Germans will easily get to that part of the Sudan situated north of Cameroon; we know that in Berlin and Hamburg great interest is taken in those regions, and we think they could continue their remarkable investigations with every possible advantage, and with facilities which they did not possess in Togo.

As for France, as I have said before, she can easily reach tropical regions through the Senegal, the Saloum, and the Casamance, but she is less well off in the Niger regions.

The countries she could reach by the lower Niger are divided from the free part of the river by rapids which without making navigation impossible as was thought at first, will make it difficult and therefore expensive.

I am one of the very few who, with Colonel Toutée and some officers, know the region that extends from Timbuctoo to the English Niger. I have told elsewhere how interesting this region is from Gas onward for its islands, and what rich plains one meets with on leaving Sensa Haoussa towards the Sudan. These, however, are too far removed from points of easy access for us to think of turning our efforts in that direction at present.

We could certainly find markets in English Nigeria for the cattle and the cereals which are so much wanted in that country; but we must first of all consider the rich region of our Niger—the region that extends from its sources to Timbuctoo.

I need not again dwell on the richness of those lands—A. Chevalier has spoken of it already in this Journal—nor of the important problem which lies before us French people, how to utilise the region of inundations for extensive culture by low dykes surrounding the fields and regular distribution of water: the time is past, I hope, when in France people laughed in our faces at the mere mention of this. I simply wish to remind my readers that we can only turn our efforts to real account by means of railways connecting the navigable Niger with the coast from Bamako to Dakar and from Kouroussa to Conakry, and that these railways will get no return loads unless their tariffs are low enough to allow the exportation of products of small value in proportion to their value and their weight.

On the whole, we may consider that in a general way West Africa can be cultivated with advantage even in its most varied regions, and the beautiful Sudanese plains which lend themselves best to this culture are not inaccessible.

And now we come to the question what is the form this cultivation of cotton ought to take in West Africa, and what are the respective parts to be taken in it by Europeans and by natives.

We must say at once that our opinion in the matter coincides with that of the Togo expedition, which is that we must try to get the natives to confine themselves to the culture of selected species, and sell to Europeans the product of their plantations as they sell ground nuts and palm oil.

But it would be necessary for some years to have model farms worked among them by white experts. For my part, I think these farms absolutely indispensable for two reasons. First, because this is the way to obtain improved or acclimatised species, which alone will make the cultivation of cotton profitable in West Africa ; and secondly, because it is only thus that we shall get the natives to cultivate these species.

Private farming by Europeans might possibly be turned to good account ; but it is uncertain owing to the great cost of exploiting agriculture in West Africa. I believe also, contrary to the general opinion, that mere buying by commercial houses would be fruitless. And in reference to this we must add, however painful it may be, that as long as traders were the only people who troubled themselves about the development of West Africa—which was the case for ages until quite lately—the nature of this exploitation of the country always remained the same, apart from the suppression of the slave trade. Hardly any effort has been made to urge the natives to new cultures, or to the cultivation of unworked products.

I speak of what relates to traders, and not of Governments only, like that of the Senegal for instance, of whose efforts to encourage the cultivation of cotton A. Chevalier gave lately a very full account. Those efforts have remained almost everywhere without results, because European traders no longer took any interest in them. I know that the agents and the employés are answerable for that, and not the heads of commercial houses, but it is they who choose their employés, and until lately these have been very second rate from every point of view.

Not only have they not studied the country in order to know what new riches it might offer, but in many cases they are answerable for the failure of trials their firms wished to make.

On principle, the trader of the coast has a horror of a new product. For him it represents not only the unknown, but an increase of work.

A remarkable instance of this was given about ten years ago in the Senegal. The heads of one of the largest companies on the coast had decided on urging the Negroes to cultivate the castor oil plant. Several tons of good seeds were distributed, and the administration helped in this laudable undertaking. The natives cultivated extensive tracts of land, and when they brought their crops to the agents of the aforesaid company the latter sent them packing, saying they would only buy ground nuts.

If to an entire upsetting of all old habits, we add considerable personal effort, tenacity, and the technical knowledge which would be necessary in the case of cotton as in many other cases, it is pretty certain that we shall not find all these in African trading factories.

We need for this purpose bodies of men who are already familiar with land questions and taking an interest in them. Mr. Calloway thinks that fields for experiments ought to be established close to centres where the whites can buy cotton and gin it, an operation which cannot be performed by the natives. The blacks will then see what care they must give to their cultures, they will learn to use modern tools, and, above all, will be more encouraged to work by seeing the fine crops of the whites than they could be by all the speeches an indifferent employé might address them from behind his counter.

In years to come when this cultivation is definitely established and when all understand its requirements and its results, the whites may be merely buyers; until then they must be buyers and also educators.

I shall not insist on the different means there may be of acting on the natives, apart from model farms, task-work, or contracts made with the more intelligent heads of houses, and I know many in our French Sudan with whom it will be possible to organise farms on the metayer system. People will then understand that it is not impossible to get good work out of those African peoples which have been so much cried down. I would only before closing insist on the kind of aid which should be given at the outset of this new phase of the agricultural development of West Africa, by the societies of encouragement which are being formed in Germany, in England, and in

France, thanks to the co-operation of their most important manufacturers and merchants.

We must thoroughly understand that in the matter of agriculture almost everything is, we may say, truly unknown in West Africa. Quiet people at home look at the few planters who are there at present as very bold ; and we must own that they need to have great confidence in themselves—for they are isolated—and great enthusiasm for their work not to draw back before the unknown they have to face.

But I shall ever repeat that agriculture must take the first place in the development of those countries, though I cannot deny that every question is peculiarly difficult. It is very difficult to act wisely with people of a race different from our own, and yet it is only by so doing that we can gain anything from them ; and I feel that everything is important in this respect, even one's own mode of life. It is very difficult to decide what kind of culture to undertake ; and when the choice is made no one yet knows how best to treat the plants and how they will turn out. Should also new species have to be created, which is the case with cotton, this is a thing beyond the power and means of mere planters. For these reasons the societies of encouragement do very right to come to their aid.

In our opinion, Germany, England, and France ought each to establish stations for trying to unravel the main threads of the problem. These stations must be real commercial enterprises on a big scale as were those of Togo ; it is only thus that results can be obtained, and not from mere sample gardens. The mistake of these sample gardens is that no direct information can be got by them either as to practical results or as to cost. The model farms ought besides to provide improved seeds, and even for that alone cultivation on a large scale is necessary.

It is not necessary that these stations should be very numerous at first. What is really important is that they be placed in very different situations.

For France I would advise one in the Saloum, another in Dahomey, and another near the interior Delta of the Niger ; for England one between Lokodja and Egga, and another on the line of the Lagos railway, at about a hundred kilometres from

the coast. As for Germany it seems to me that while continuing the experiment of Togo, she should take it up also in the north of Cameroon near the Benue.

When these typical stations have given results, they can increase their modes of action : subventions given to planters who, already settled in certain regions, can make experiments ; distribution of seeds and trained animals ; as also the formation of a staff specially fitted to take the direction of those agricultural centres mentioned by Mr. Calloway, which will be placed near centres easy of access for traders who will purchase the cotton from the growers.

There are at present so many great undertakings in West Africa, that when the time comes their Directors need not hesitate to create such centres of trade. The societies of encouragement will have to guide them and facilitate their task.

Until then they can also use their influence in urging upon the Governments of their respective countries the construction of railways, which must start from the West Coast, and without which Africa would ever remain unprogressive.

The problem of the production of cotton by their colonies is of such importance for European countries, owing to their dependence on America, that they must each of them not only make every possible effort to solve it, but unite for that purpose in communicating to each other the result of their work.

Sir Alfred Jones in Liverpool, and the Kolonial Wirtschaftliches at Berlin, did me the great honour to ask me if I thought my country would make this union possible. It is not in the nature of France to be distrustful, and to stand aloof from efforts made to benefit the interests of humanity ; the alliance of the three great European Powers for the improvement of their new territories is too glorious a thing for France not to help it with all her heart. And how remarkable if it were actually in this Darkest Africa, so misunderstood, that the first attempt should be made at a wise economic *entente* which must be the aim of future ages.

EMILE BAILLAUD,

PLANTATIONS DE BENTY,
22 Octobre, 1902.

(Ancien chargé de mission au Soudan Français.
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THE FIGHT AGAINST MALARIA

AN INDUSTRIAL NECESSITY FOR OUR AFRICAN COLONIES

(*From the Cologne Gazette*)

With an Introductory Note by MAJOR R. ROSS, C.B., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.,
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WHEN travelling last autumn with Sir William MacGregor to Ismalia, I showed him an anonymous article on the Fight against Malaria, published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. He was so struck by the ability of the article that he wrote out a translation of it there and then. With his permission I sent the translation later to the Editor of the *Journal of the African Society*, who has very kindly consented to its publication in that organ.

The writer appears to be a physician who has practised in one or more of the German Possessions in West Africa. His recommendations entirely agree with those made by many of us during the last four years. It should be especially noted that he is in favour of a compulsory quinine prophylaxis for employes of Governments and firms in Africa—a system which Sir William MacGregor has already adopted in Lagos, but which, according to the author, the German Foreign Office has rejected for Togoland. He is also strongly in favour of the "Mosquito Brigade" system for checking the propagation of mosquitoes; and his concluding remarks will be echoed by all who have the interests of West Africa really at heart.

It is now four years since the mode of propagation of malarial fever was experimentally determined; but I fear that most of us can express only disappointment at the way in which the discovery has, or rather has not, been acted upon. There has been much talk—mostly from persons who obviously know nothing about the subject; but except in a few isolated colonies, there has been little action. The reason for this is correctly given in the penultimate sentence of the article. I fear that the

same state of things will continue until new methods are employed for persuading local authorities to attend to their principal business, local sanitation. These methods are likely to be effectual; but as they are also disagreeable, we might wait yet another year or so before applying them. In the meantime the *Kölnische Zeitung* article should help to educate public opinion in this country.

R. ROSS.

THE principal objection which the opponents of our colonial policy have advanced against our African Colonies is, that the climate and conditions of health make settlement by Europeans on a large scale impossible. The objection appears hitherto well-founded, except as regards the little promising German South-West Africa. Only a few people, reputed Colonial enthusiasts, ventured to hope for colonising to any considerable extent. But thanks to the indefatigable researches of German, English, French, Italian, and Dutch scientists, who independently of each other have arrived at the same results, the mosquito doctrine of malaria, that arch enemy of the white man in the colonies, may be regarded as firmly established; and for the tropical medical officer there now arises the heavy but glorious task of practically applying this doctrine. The losses that arise through this disease among the white population are greater than could be indicated in the bloodiest battles of recent wars. They are worst in the Cameruns; then comes close after that place the colony of Togo; whilst in East Africa only slightly better conditions are met with. The white population abroad may be divided into officials, traders, missionaries, and planters. As regards the officials, they are young men, selected specially on account of their physical fitness, and at the best time of their life, to enter on their duties; but without having been prepared for the climatic conditions. Generally after a few weeks, or all but universally within the first year, they are seized by malaria. It is not too much to assert that malaria and the consequent blackwater fever has within a year and a half reduced their number; and only too frequently many of the survivors are converted from men of blooming health to debilitated, bloodless

victims of the climate, from whom Africa has sucked the marrow of their bones, and energy from their soul. It can be seen from the official list of the Government of Togo, where the writer made his observations, that from the year 1885 till the 31st July, 1900, of 134 enrolled officers, 27 died ; while 29 were discharged on account of illness, or became unfit for tropical service. The loss by climate was consequently 56. Expressed by percentage the figures give these results :

Of 134 officers, there died 20·15 per cent ; there were discharged on account of illness, or were on medical certificate deemed unfit for tropical service and sent home, 21·5 per cent. The whole loss amounts to 41·7 per cent. In other words, nearly every second officer dies out there or becomes so dangerously ill that he must be invalided. This is with reference to a full tour of service, which now amounts to a year and a half.

In Togo even yet very little hygienic improvement has taken place. A hospital has been established at Little Papo for sick Europeans ; and two medical officers have been appointed, who, however, on account of frequent changes and their unsatisfactory official position, have unfortunately little influence with the Government, for the way to Berlin and back is long, and no one can fairly be blamed if he avoids sitting down in a nettle bed. But a hospital with doctors does not constitute a policy of general hygienic significance.

Moreover, one may say that the surviving officers suffer from fever almost without exception. Unfortunately they cannot recruit their health in a way that would be desirable. If they are long ill, then their further employment in the colonial service naturally becomes undesirable. Then the individual officer is urged by a sense of duty to attend to his work, because on account of the limited number of officers a relief is difficult to obtain, with the exception naturally of those doing clerical duties. In this way I have seen many an officer, while suffering from an attack of fever, or when still weak from tropical fever, sit at his desk and prepare reports : or have seen him as he attended to his duties in a tropical sun in spite of exhaustion and illness, though only just risen from a bed of sickness and ready to fall. The greatly predominating factor in these losses among officers is malaria and the consequent blackwater fever.

Dysentery and other tropical diseases have only a small share in this.

Let us now ask the question, what effect have these losses through malaria on the development of our African Colonies? It is manifest that continuity in administration and in work must thereby suffer greatly. Almost half of the officers fall out. In the case of the others the value of the days and hours lost to work cannot be calculated, as every one that has been in Africa knows. Now this we can easily accept, that at least a year's work is required to form a judgment on African surroundings, to learn, for example, how the natives should be treated, a theme never fully mastered. How is it possible to ever obtain continuity in administration seeing that we cannot, on account of the climate, train a staff of experienced officers? But without continuity progress is inconceivable. The best proposals of reform are useless if we do not possess officers of experience and well acquainted with the natives of the country.

Of the officers that leave the service for reasons other than those of climate the number is considerable; partly voluntarily, because they may wish to use their sojourn in the colony as a stepping stone, or because they wish to have it as an interesting memory; partly because they are for other reasons unsuitable for the Colonial Service. And yet all will agree that without a trained race of colonial officers a colony cannot prosper.

The English, who well understand this circumstance, found a remedy for this on the Gold Coast, which in climate closely resembles Togo and the Cameruns, by doubling a large number of their official appointments, so that one officer is on leave, or is employed at home, while the other is abroad; and, as a rule, the change takes place after one year. We Germans have followed them thus far, that we have reduced the tour of service in Camerun and Togo from two years to one and a half, but this without double appointments. Now certainly this rule is double edged, for under it continuity of administration must suffer; though it is necessary so long as malaria continues to devastate the ranks of the whites.

Then, again, it seems to be out of the question that merchants, planters, and missionaries, who as a rule undertake three years' service, should follow the example of the Government. And so

for these groups also of the white population malaria becomes the principal obstacle to the success of their work. Leaving aside the fact that our German African firms have a moral responsibility for the fate of the young merchants they send out, it would certainly be advantageous that the chiefs should be for some years in the country, as is generally the case elsewhere, instead of leaving the conduct of affairs to young men who are naturally not intimately acquainted with the business and who are, moreover, often replaced on account of illness by others of still less experience than themselves. This business advantage the English have fully recognised. The Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool and Manchester, with the aid of important contributions from African firms, sent out last year to West Africa the army surgeon Ronald Ross, who there, in conjunction with other medical men, has begun on an extensive scale, especially at Sierra Leone, the fight against malaria.

No fewer in number are the losses the missionaries announce from year to year in their own ranks. The civilising task of the missions, which can be performed only by uninterrupted work, and in which the personal experience of the individual with men and things in Africa is of the greatest importance, is now, alas! too often disturbed. In the case of officers, as in that of missionaries, it too often happens that the confidence of the natives, gained after years of trouble, is imperilled by a few harsh and inconsiderate acts on the part of a successor.

As malaria is a scourge for all classes of the population, it becomes an emphatic duty of the State to take an interest in the campaign against it. The State is compelled thereto by its duty towards humanity, as well as by economic considerations. In view of the African climate it is obliged to be very careful in selecting officers to be sent thither; many a man otherwise quite competent cannot offer sufficient resistance to the climate; the State must pay higher salaries than would otherwise be necessary; it must allow long recuperating terms of leave; and yet many a good officer is lost to it through malaria. The climate of West Africa is, moreover, of great influence in a moral sense. Weakened through frequent attacks of fever, depressed through want of diversion, which then unfortunately is replaced by the dangerous deceiver, alcohol; and by reason

of the climate almost always deprived of the softening influence of women, it is not surprising that men of excellent character at home are now and then driven to excesses, to understand which there is no key to the mass of people in the home country. Hence the question of the conflict with malaria is a question of great practical importance for the colonial politician. Naturally the question forces itself on each thinking human being : Do the possible results pay for these heavy sacrifices in men ? I should like to answer this in the affirmative. It is not long since Batavia and Hong Kong were called " The white man's grave " ; since in the English Parliament the abandonment of Hong Kong was considered on account of numerous deaths from dysentery, whilst now no one considers that he incurs special danger to life by living there for years. What was possible in Batavia and Hong Kong must also be possible in our African colonies, and I can positively affirm that in the protected territory of Togo, which I have had under observation, malaria could be very considerably suppressed without excessive trouble.

Malaria is produced by parasites that live in the blood of man. Their transference from one man to another is effected by the medium of mosquitoes, by certain well-defined species of the anopheles. That malaria was carried by mosquitoes had long been suspected ; but at the same time the view was held that malaria might originate from miasms from the soil, and from bad drinking water. It is, however, the merit of Ross to have demonstrated by microscopic examination the presence of the malaria parasite in the mosquito, where it undergoes a change. All known facts are in harmony with the mosquito doctrine, also with the doctrine that infection results through the medium of the mosquito. If, indeed, another way of infection exists, it is not of practical importance, since it has been proved that infection takes place in the very great majority of cases of all malarial attacks through the puncture of the mosquito. Let us now realise to ourselves that infection may in a certain sense be represented as a chain, which goes from man through the mosquito and then back to man ; then it becomes clear that the distribution of the disease can be prevented if we succeed in breaking the chain at one spot—that is, to annihilate the malaria

parasite in man, so that then mosquitoes would obtain no infecting material for further promulgation, or to annihilate the mosquito, so that the intermediate host, without which a further dissemination would be no longer possible. Between these two possibilities namely (1) the extinction of the malaria parasite in man by the use of quinine ; or (2) the destruction of the mosquitoes themselves, there exists the possibility of keeping ourselves free from malaria by protection against the bites of mosquitoes.

The first method, to extinguish the malaria parasite in man by quinine, is the one that has practically suppressed malaria in Germany. From the period at which the use of quinine became common in the malaria districts dates also the decline of the disease. In Batavia and in Java several thousand kilograms of quinine are still yearly distributed among the white and coloured population, and, on the basis of the excellent results obtained there, Koch has recommended a similar proceeding (the gratuitous distribution of quinine to natives), and has brought this into practice in our African protectorate. Unfortunately theory and practice are in conflict. What was possible among the natives of the Netherland Indies, in the presence of an ancient civilisation, is among the uncultivated tribes of Africa far from practicable. Only a very small fraction of the blacks receive medical treatment for fever, and even that number would refuse to take the bitter medicine for a period of some duration after the fever disappeared. This, however, is necessary, as one often finds parasites in the blood without the bearer suffering from fever. In such cases we may believe that the body has become accustomed to the poison. The childlike innocent mind of the negro could not understand if it were suggested to him that he should still take quinine when he has ceased to be ill. Such is also the case with children, who, as Koch has rightly pointed out, almost all harbour malaria parasites, whence consequently mosquitoes always find material for the further spread of the disease. At Lome in Togo I found among 100 children about 60 per cent. suffering from malaria. At different times of the year this number may be greater or less. Of all the children examined, however, not a single one was brought at the consultation hour, but the drop of blood was obtained by the black

warder as they were playing outside on the sand and felt quite well. Could one really try to give quinine to all these negro children as one does vaccination in Germany? I do not believe in the practicability of such a procedure in Africa, nor of its suitability. That the black man suffers less from fever than the white man is due to this: that he obtains from his ancestors, all of whom lived in a fever country, a certain protection; and in addition to this he, after repeated attacks of malaria in his youth, acquires a certain protection or immunity; also in the case of the white man after a stay of several years in malarial countries, and after undergoing a number of attacks, the fever ceases to be so severe. Should we deprive the coloured population of this immunity? That is indeed very questionable. There was great surprise when Koch reported that he had succeeded at Stephansort, in New Guinea, in making healthy one of the worst of the fever nests. Amongst the labourers on the plantation there they succeeded, by repeatedly examining the labourers microscopically for malarial parasites, and by administering quinine to all infected cases, in making the parasite disappear, and in thus rendering the place free from malaria. It must be added that there was practically no intercourse between the people of Stephansort and those of other villages. The effect appears, however, unfortunately to have been only temporary. According to the latest reports malaria is now quite as prevalent there as it was two years ago, and is now being cleared out anew. It is hardly to be expected that intercourse with infected villages, and thereby an introduction of new malaria germs, can be permanently avoided.

It is quite out of the question, according to the view of all the Government medical officers of Togo and the Cameruns, that results on the plan followed at Stephansort could be obtained in Africa at the trading centres, on account of the frequent intercourse between neighbouring villages; the immense caravan trade; the great markets and dancing festivals—occasions that present themselves daily in one form or another, and each time bring together at the trading centre hundreds of human beings—so that a new introduction of malaria germs cannot be prevented. If the medical officer examines, and if necessary treats with quinine, ten to fifteen cases daily, which, with his

other work, would be the utmost he could do, this would be only pouring water in a sieve, for there would be daily some sixty or seventy persons with malaria in their blood, who on this account are not accustomed to suffer from fever, going about amongst those present. We are far from having yet arrived at placing stations on the caravan routes that could put quinine on the tongue of each negro passing by. It is the opinion of all our West African medical officers that by this method alone, of the gratuitous administration of quinine and the consequent annihilation of as much infective material as possible, unless carried on with the assistance of extensive microscopic examination, no good result can be obtained.

As the experiments that I have made on myself and my nearest neighbours show, the individual can keep himself free from fever by quinine doses of a dram every eighth or ninth day, according to Koch's directions. The Woermann line purpose to impose this obligation on their *employés* by their agreement. The Foreign Office have unfortunately lately declined to adopt the suggestion of the medical officers of Togo, that each officer should, under terms of his agreement, declare his readiness to take quinine every eighth or ninth day, and that in fever cases, on the report of the medical officer, the salary of an officer should be stopped during the period of an illness that might have been avoided by reasonable care. Certainly it must be granted that to take quinine for a long term abroad, even in this way, produces decidedly greater subjective symptoms, such as noises in the ears, trembling of the hands, and palpitation, than at home. But this is, after all, decidedly the lesser evil of the two. Only think of the very considerable number of fatal cases:—In the period from July 1st, 1901, to April 30th, 1902, out of sixty-six officers six, and of these five of malaria or of the cognate blackwater fever, which occurs only after malaria. From what has been said it follows that quinine is one of the principal weapons in the conflict with malaria, but that even if administered generally in such a way as, for example, could not be thought of in our African colonies, it would not of itself suffice to carry to a successful issue the campaign against malaria.

It is clear and will be theoretically granted, for example, even

by Koch, that the diffusion of malaria could be at once stopped if the mosquitoes could be destroyed. The idea appeared at first as Utopian to every one, exactly as many things that now are quite simple to us were a few decades ago, or on their first appearance, cried down as visionary or impracticable. In this case it is no less an authority than Ross, the discoverer of the malaria parasite in the mosquito, who by this discovery alone has opened the way to dealing with malaria. He went in the spring of 1901, sent by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, with an expedition to the most notorious malarial centres of the West African coast, such as Freetown in Sierra Leone, Accra on the Gold Coast, and also Lagos. He instituted a truly modern crusade against the mosquito. In order to understand his system we must bear in mind that (1) the mosquito lays its eggs in standing, and never in flowing water ; and (2) that it never goes far from the cradle of its birth. Both facts have been confirmed for Camerun and Togo by the well-known malarial investigator, Ziemann. Mosquito larvæ are met with only in standing water, in puddles, swamps, and little pools of all kinds, in bits of broken bottles lying about, in empty meat tins, &c. Moreover, the eggs can remain dry for a certain time, and then develop, if they have been laid by the mosquitoes at suitable spots after a shower of rain. The proceeding of Ross consists in this, that he equips a column of workers under a head man (naturally, under instructions from the medical officer), first to ascertain whether any of the waters in question contain the larvæ of mosquitoes, more especially of the anopheles, and in that case to undertake their destruction. This can be effected by letting away open water ; by improving roads ; by removing pools and open water casks containing larvæ ; by covering open cisterns and wells in which larvæ are found ; and above all by sprinkling with petroleum pools and puddles that cannot be drained. The sprinkling is carried out at regular intervals. Broken bottles, cocoanut shells, and other rubbish in which larvæ can develop, are likewise removed by a sanitary column. It would take us too far to discuss in detail his procedure, which is certainly that of the future. The destruction of the mosquitoes in Freetown, in Sierra Leone, where the system was first put into practice by Ross, and

afterwards carried on by Dr. Taylor, is reported to have succeeded.

Further and stronger proof as to the annihilation of mosquitoes by the Ross system has been obtained in Havana. Here the Americans have attacked the mosquito plague with success. Their object was to extinguish yellow fever, which constantly threatens the southern harbours. This is communicated by the germs *Stegomyia*, just as malaria is carried by the germs *anopheles*. It can be seen from the reports published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* from the 20th to the 27th July what result this system has had. Further experiments on the Ross system will be begun this winter on the Suez Canal at Ismailia, where Ross proceeds in September. He intends to go out again in December. The undertaking should claim the attention of our colonial political circles.

Between the two procedures (to strike the malaria parasite either in man or in the mosquito) exists the possibility of protection from mosquito bites by means of nets and mosquito-proof houses, according to the procedure of Zupitza and Plehn. Inspections should be made in the colonies to determine whether nets are to be used; also galvanised wire-netting should be employed to fit up mosquito-proof houses. Although good results can be obtained in this way, the method promises but little on a great scale. In the first place, Ross's procedure should be used; then we have useful subsidiary means in the practicable use of quinine, and in the protection against mosquito bites by gauze and by the use of the Indian punkah—great fans that are moved by the human hand or mechanically. It may without optimism be accepted as certain that the campaign against malaria can be successfully carried out in our West African colonies. The cost is small, and a sanitary column of some eight men would suffice for a place like Lome in Togo. The wages for one person amounts in West Africa to some twenty shillings a month: in addition to this there must be a further initial expenditure for shovels, barrows, &c. If we add to this the cost of the gratuitous administration of quinine to the blacks, and perhaps also to the traders (who, as the officers are already entitled to free medicines, will be but few), then the sum total of £200 *per annum* would suffice. The general

management could be carried on by the local government medical officer.

The history of hygiene shows that measures of a searching nature succeed only under the pressure of public opinion. Our colonial political public opinion must concern itself more than hitherto with the question of the campaign against climatic conditions. It is the first task of the Colonial Government to create such surroundings that the white man can remain for a longer term in the tropics. The English have accomplished this in India, the Dutch in the Sunda Islands—that also must we do in Africa. Such matters often fail to receive attention from our officials, and are frequently pigeon-holed. May our colonial friends give increased interest to the hygienic questions which concern closely not only life or death for many, but also the future of our colonies.

Translated by

SIR WILLIAM MACGREGOR, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.D., LL.D.

Governor of Lagos.

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THE BERBERS

A GOOD deal of interest has been aroused lately in scientific and religious quarters by the important discoveries and researches of Mr. Theodore Bent, Dr. Carl Peters, Professor Keane, and others, which go to identify Ophir and Havilah with the gold-producing district of Mashonaland in South Africa. The name "Ophir," has been found in the Egyptian form "Afur," and this latter again is taken to be the same as "Afer," the root of the word "Africa." There is no doubt that "Africa" is the feminine adjective derived from "Afer," which occurs in the appellation of the Latin comedian Publius Terentius *Afer*, so-called from his being a native of Tunis. "Afer" was Tunis, the "Afric" province was strictly the present Regency; and only in modern times has the local designation been applied to other parts, and eventually to the whole continent. But whence came "Afer," if "Ophir" and "Afur" came from it? I know of no other derivation of the term, so I venture to offer the following:—The earliest inhabitants of Tunis were *cave-dwellers*. Herodotus, in his second book, describes the customs and country of these "Troglodytes," such as they exist to the present day, in the mountains on the Tunisian-Tripolitan border. Now the principal part of this cave-dwelt chain is still called "Jebel *Yefren*," or "Jebel *Ifren*," from the tribe of the Yefren or Ifren, who inhabit it. According to the Berber historian Ibn Khaldun this tribe dwelt there from time immemorial, and he incidentally mentions that "they derived their name from the Berber word, 'ifri' (or in the feminine form, 'tifri'), which signifies '*a cave*.'" The translator of Ibn Khaldun, Baron MacGuckin de Slane, corroborates this by tracing the word "ifri" to the Berber root "effer," "*to hide*." From this I think

it is clear that "Afer" is merely the Latinised form of the Libyan equivalent of "Ifren," that is "cave-dwellers," or "those who hide (themselves or their belongings) in caves." From the local term "Afer," the whole province was called by the Romans "Africa" (a term still restricted by the Arabs to the province of Tunis) whence the entire continent has now derived its name.

Having lived for the last fifteen years in North Africa, as a missionary, I have become increasingly interested in the Aboriginal tribes of this country. My object in drawing attention to the Berbers is not only scientific, though I hold that they furnish materials for interesting inquiries in many different branches of study, but I believe that a more intimate and friendly acquaintance with these intelligent and enterprising people would prove of great commercial and political value.

Commercial Aptitudes.—The hardy and indomitable spirit which has survived centuries of alien domination, the thrifty, industrious energy which survives in the Berber the apathy which Muslim fatalism induces in others, the enterprise which drives the Berber far from home to seek his fortune in every direction, the acute appreciation of the value of money, and the commercial worth of articles of trade, the readiness to profit by newly-introduced or unfamiliar goods, all make the Berber tribes peculiarly fit for the rôle of traders, and commercial agents. Even the Twarik nomads, whose eagle-swoop the caravans crossing the Sahara so much dread, might be turned into most valuable aids and protectors of commerce. By recognising and scrupulously respecting the territorial rights of the various Twarik tribes, by which I mean by regarding their exactions, not as blackmail but as regular customs dues—into which no doubt they would be willing to convert them in exchange for frank recognition—I believe the desert highways might be not only made safe, but increasingly profitable. The trade between the Soudanese States—Bornu, Wadai, Baghirmi, Adamawa, Sokoto, &c., and the north and east, instead of being hampered would then be fostered by these active Berber travellers. When the slave-trade is suppressed, some other outlet must be found for the activities of the so-called "Arab" raider from Tripoli

and Morocco. He will soon find it to his advantage to turn to honest trade.

The northern part of Africa is inhabited by various races, one of which, the Berber, is by far the most numerous, the others being almost insignificant in comparison with it.

Moors.—Thus the people generally described as “Moors,” are only (except when the term is used as referring to the inhabitants of Morocco) the heterogeneous populations of the coast towns of the Mediterranean, who are almost entirely of European origin, and consist of the descendants of captives, fugitives from justice, renegades, traders, &c., &c., mingled with natives from different parts of the interior, drawn by the various attractions of the town, and a small proportion of negro slaves.

Jews.—Next in numbers to the “Moors” are the Jews, with whom though their local history is very interesting,¹ I will not occupy myself here.

Europeans.—Then there are the many thousands of Spaniards, French, Italians, Maltese, Greeks, Turks, and other Europeans, some of whom have been settled in the Barbary States for many generations, but who in comparison with the native races, are still only a recent and a foreign element. As, however, the immigration of Europeans into North Africa has been incessant from the earliest ages, and, until the animosities between the Christian and the Mohammedan religions prevented their coalition in modern times, their influx must have largely modified the native races, it is right to take this element into consideration.

Negroes.—There remain the negroes who are equally foreigners in North Africa with the Christians. These do not seem to have had much effect upon the population. They have always been comparatively few, only the women having at all intermarried with the whites. No negro can obtain a white wife.

Berbers.—The great bulk of the inhabitants of the North of Africa is, then, of the Berber race.

¹ Some of the “Jews” in Tunis are not of Hebrew, but of Berber origin, being the descendants of native tribes who adopted the Jewish religion before the preaching of Christianity. Some of these Jews still live in tents among Berber nomads. Blue eyes and fair hair are common among the Jews of Tunis.

The origin of the Berbers is at present unknown. In spite of many efforts in ancient, as well as in modern times, it has hitherto been impossible to trace their pedigree, or to attach them to any known source of the human race. I cannot pretend to solve the problem, but I think it will be useful to arrange as far as possible, such evidence as we possess, and to point out the lines which seem to offer some chances of leading to connections with other races, and so give the Berbers their place in the family of nations. After a few remarks on their geographical distribution, I shall try to collect evidence from—

1st. Their anthropological characteristics.

2nd. Their language.

3rd. Customs.

4th. Such historical notices as have come down to us.

I shall then propose a few lines of inquiry, which I think the evidence suggests as likely to lead to some very interesting, if not conclusive, results.

Geographical Distribution.—The Berbers are spread over a territory extending from about the 25th meridian of East Longitude westward to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Mediterranean Sea southwards to the Senegal, and roughly, the 15th parallel of Latitude.

In the Sahara are Twariks, who are considered the purest of Berbers. In the Oases of Siwah, Aujila, Jalo, &c., in Cyrenaica, in the Fezzan and in the mountainous parts of Tripoli, the Island of Jerba (supposed to be the Island of Calypso, or of the Lotophagi), the hilly country on the Tunisian-Tripolitan frontier, and in the Oases in the South of Algeria, Wargla, Mزاب, Twat, &c., are various Berber tribes. In Algeria are the Shawia in the Aures Range, and the Kabyles of the hills on the Mediterranean littoral. In Morocco the population is nearly purely Berber—the Sus and Berabera of the Atlas system and the Riffs of the northern region. The Canary Islands are also peopled by a race of Berber origin, who have now lost their old language; and the Maltese also seem to be largely of Berber blood. In the plains of Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria most of the inhabitants now speak only Arabic, but except in Tunis where a certain proportion of Arabs exist, though considerably crossed with Berber blood, they are also almost pure Berbers by race.

Anthropology.—The physical types of these races differ considerably among themselves. Broadly speaking there seem to be four main branches, though they are so much intermixed that it is impossible to classify each race separately according to type. I think the inquiry has been hampered by the exclusive study of the fair, blue-eyed, slight built, Kabyle on the one hand, or the tall, dark, sharp-featured Twarik on the other hand. But there is a vast mass of Berbers settled in the countries intermediary between the two extremes.

In attempting to analyse the types now composing the Berber races, I shall follow Dr. Bertholon, of the "Institut de Carthage," who as the medical officer of recruitment of the Army in Tunis, has had exceptional opportunities for making anthropological observations and measurements. He has contributed many papers on the subject, giving figures and illustrations to the French scientific societies. By far the greater number of the Berbers are dolichocephalic, or long-headed, but a strong brachycephalic element also exists.

Gætulian.—In the Oases on the confines of the desert—Ghadamis, Wadi Righ, Twat, Biskra, in the Tunisian Jerid, and in the almost inaccessible mountains, as in Kroumirie, are found populations who still preserve the type of Palæolithic man. These people by their dark complexion, narrow, strongly-developed skulls, receding forehead and chin, and large nasal orifices seem to represent that ancient race, whose remains are found mostly in caves, in those neighbourhoods where early chipped flint implements abound. This is the Neanderthal type. It seems that they came into Europe from North Africa, probably when the land was much higher and the two Continents were joined.

Iberian.—Another type, much the most numerous of all, is apparently Iberian. These are also short, dark-skinned and dolichocephalic, but though the forehead is narrow the face is broad, the chin square and the jaw heavy. The length of the skull is often artificially increased among the Kroumirs by the tight folds of the turban, which compress the back of the head so as to form a considerable protrusion. These are probably the descendants of the Numidians. They represent the Neo-lithic races, who came from Europe early in

the age of polished flint and bronze, and drove back the Gætulians.

Fair Libyan.—More or less intermixed with the Iberian are also great numbers of fair, blue eyed folk, who seem to be the descendants of those "Tamahous" or light-complexioned Libyans whose features are pourtrayed in Egyptian sculptures. In the Aures mountains, among the Kabyles and the Riffs, and in the high plateaux of the centre of Tunis, and in the Isle of Jerba, these blonds have preserved their characteristic appearance more or less pure. They seem to be of Celtic origin, and to have been somewhat mixed with the following class, both before leaving Europe, and when they followed them into North Africa. I should be inclined to distinguish two types of fair Berbers,—the short and the tall. The former, as for instance, most of the Kabyles, differ considerably from the tall, distinguished looking Shawi, or native of central Tunis. Perhaps these two fair-haired varieties are of different origin—the short, light men being Celts from the North, and the tall, heavy tribes connected with the Ægeans and Mycenæans,—the people of Tyrins and Troy—possibly even akin to the Horites and Amorites of Canaan.

Celto Ligurian.—The fourth class is brachycephalic—round-headed and broad faced, short and square in build—and though not fair like the Kabyles, of considerably lighter tint than the Kroumirs and the desert tribes. They occupy the coast-lands about the Syrtes and the Sahel of Tunis, and are the "Libyans" of history. They seem to be "of Celto-Ligurian origin and came from Europe, probably from the valley of the Danube. The Egyptian monuments give us the account of the deeds of war of these Europeans, the names of their tribes, the portraits of their chiefs, with the details of their costume, and even their tattooing faithfully reproduced." ¹

Though we find many specimens of all these classes among the different Berber tribes, one or other type more or less prevails in each district. So that the Susis of Morocco, the Beni Mzab, the Jerbis, &c., &c., are easily distinguishable, each nation having its own family likeness. I consider that this four-

¹ Dr. Bertholon, "La Population et les Races en Tunisie," in the *Revue générale des Sciences pures et appliquées*, 30th Nov., 1896.

fold division is of great importance in the study of Berber origins, as it shows that the Berbers are not a homogeneous race traceable to a single source, but have met in North Africa from four different directions.

[*Note*.—Articles associated with the early Stone Age are found scattered throughout North Africa. Flint, almond-shaped hatchets, knives, flakes, and arrow-heads have been found in Algeria, in the caves of Ouzidan (about seven miles north of Tlemcen), and in the sand-pit of Ternifine (or Palekao) a little to the east of Mascara; in the desert regions, between Tuggurt and Ghadamis, and on the margins of the "Shotts." In Tunis similar deposits exist in the Oasis of Matwia, near Gabes, and in the Jebel Orbata, near Gafsa.]

Language.—The linguistic test does not at first show the same diversity of origin. All the Berber tribes speak dialects which do not differ from one another more than do Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian. Though usually mutually unintelligible on account of varieties of pronunciation, these dialects are undoubtedly all derived from one common language.

Where different words are in use, the roots from which they originate generally exist in some other form, so that the present position implies an original stem, rich in roots, from which the various branches have sprung.

The Berber language is in no way akin to the Arabic, though many Arabic terms have crept in. On the other hand, the Arabic dialects spoken in North Africa differ in so many respects from those further east, that I suspect that the majority of the Arabic solecisms are in reality Berber roots moulded into Arabic forms. Though I believe that Berber is non-Semitic, its construction has many affinities to the Arabic, and the natural propensity for fantastic etymologies being encouraged by this facility, it is very difficult to determine whether the Berber expressions are derived from the Arabic, or *vice-versâ*, or indeed a hybrid more or less strange to both.

In an apparent system of tri-literal radicals, modified by the serviles, *t, s, m, i, n*, &c. ; in the "causative," "reflexive," "habitual," and other "forms," in the affixed pronouns, and in a kind of "broken plural"; the Berber dialects show such a strikingly Semitic genius that one is tempted to class them with that family

without hesitation. But closer examination dispels this idea. (1) The characteristic Semitic gutturals "ʿ*ain*," ع, and "ħ*ha*," ح, and the dental "s," ص, are foreign to Berber; (2) the pronouns are entirely dissimilar; (3) nearly all the details of conjugation differ; (4) the plural of nouns is not really "broken," but is formed in a manner unlike any of the Semitic dialects; (5) a comparison with the 'Hausa language, which I take to be certainly Hamitic, reveals a close resemblance in grammar, though not in vocabulary. Locutions which have to be turned in a peculiar manner to be expressed in Berber, take the same turn in 'Hausa, but not in Arabic;¹ (6) the vocabulary is non-Semitic in all those particulars which would indicate the most elementary relationships. On the whole, the Berber has a non-Semitic vocabulary, and a grammar on the Semitic model, but non-Semitic in matter.

On examining the dialects, however, the seeming homogeneity in language disappears. Thus, the Riffs regularly change "l" into "r"; the Shawia change servile "t" into "h"; the Twariks interchange "s," "sh," "h," and "j" according to tribe; the Kabyles and Riffs prefer the soft "θ," "δ," to "t" and "d," or lisp the "t" almost "ts"; the Tunisians and Sus change "g" into "j." Some of these changes may be simply due to local habits, but the Riffs and Twariks at any rate seem to owe it to an original difference of race.² I have not yet been able to trace any connection between the Berber vocabulary and that of any other language, though the Shawia and the people of Augila (see Rohlfs' "Viaggio da Tripoli all' oasi Kufra." Milan, 1887, chap. ix.) still retain many words of Latin origin, principally names of domestic utensils, months, and places, nor can I discover any relationship with the Coptic in any particular. With the exception of the parallel with the 'Hausa which I have mentioned, I do not think the Berber has any resemblance to any of the negro tongues. It is rather an inflexional language of the Caucasian type. Briefly, the Berber dialects may be classified into (a) the Sahara section—Twarik and Zenaga

¹ See Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa* (Ward, Lock, and Co., 1890), p. 106.

² See my "Comparative Table of Words and Phrases in thirteen Berber Dialects, with Notes on the Grammar" in the *Journal of the African Society*, July, 1902.



MEDGHASSEN—TOMB OF MASINISSA, ALGERIA.



MEGALITHS NEAR TAXA, ALGERIA. *(Face page 169.)*

(Senegal); (*b*) the midland or Zenati section—Sus, Shawia, Mzab, Twat, Tunis, Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Fezzan; (*c*) the northern or Kabyle; (*d*) the Riff, the smallest section.

Sociology.—The predominance of Islam has obliterated many of those indigeneous customs which might have thrown a valuable light on the ethnology of the Barbary States. All traces of early religions, legends, history and literature have completely disappeared. But the law of Mohammed has not displaced some habits which characterise the Berbers still.

Megalithic Monuments.—To begin with pre-historic monuments, the Barbary States are rich in megalithic remains.¹

In Algeria.—All over Algeria, but especially in the province of Constantine, are scattered assemblages of rude stones, dolmens, cromlechs, excavations in the rock. Between Constantine and Guelma there are found—at Bou-Nouara, a megalithic necropolis containing monuments of many varieties, the general type being a dolmen composed of four vertical blocks, and a table, forming a rectangular chamber, the whole surrounded by a circle of stones; at Roknia, the necropolis covers a space of four or five miles, the dolmens being usually of the same form, and placed four or five together in one general enclosure. At Bou-Merzoug, near Constantine, over an immense extent of hill and valley, not less than eight miles in length are found almost every known type of megalithic monuments. At Kheneg, also near Constantine, are three dolmens with enclosures of rough blocks of irregular shapes. In the Aures Mountains on Jebel-Kharuba, and Jebel Bou Driecen are great numbers of highly curious remains, consisting not only of the ordinary type of dolmen, but of circular tombs of a much more unusual construction. Near Er Rebaa, on the road from Batna to Khenchela is also a megalithic village. Near Ain-Taxa (the ancient Tigisis) under the Jebel Fortās I saw remains containing dolmens, cromlechs, menhirs, &c. This site, however, seems to have been adapted to later uses by the Romans, a bronze coin of Domitian having been found in one. Near Algiers, in the Wadi Beni Messous are about a dozen megalithic monuments still entire, and a considerable

¹ See Sir Lambert Playfair in Murray's *Handbook for Algeria and Tunis*, pp. 88, 107, 140, 150, 200, 239, 242, &c.

number in a less perfect state of preservation. These consist of dolmens—large tabular stones, supported on four upright ones. Several interesting objects have been found in those that have been opened, such as bones, pottery, bronze ornaments, &c., which may be seen at the rooms of the Société de Climatologie at Algiers. At Djelfa, about two hundred miles due south of Algiers is another very large necropolis of the same kind near Teniet-el-Ahad, in a district called Sersou, about fifty miles south-west of Algiers, are numerous pre-historic remains containing a considerable number of interesting objects belonging to the ancient races who have inhabited the country. According to M. Jules Liorel (*Kabylie de la Djurdjura*, page 96) the skeletons found were doubled up, the head almost always turned towards the north. The glass beads, coarse pottery, and bronze ornaments may be mostly very ancient, but some are contemporary with the Roman period.

In Tunis.—The megalithic remains found in Tunis are interesting as being undoubtedly connected with the early Libyans. A considerable area around Mactar, near the western centre of the Regency, is covered with dolmens, and covered alleys. On the plateau of Hammada-Kesra, and in the olive plantations below the village are dolmens and chambers—one at least of remarkable size. At Ellez, between Mactar and Kef, is a necropolis of great extent consisting of menhirs, dolmens and covered alleys, which are said to resemble exactly those of Brittany and other parts of Europe. In one of them was found a rude clay lamp in something of the shape of the earliest "Punic" lamps. It was near these buildings in the neighbourhood of Mactar, that many Libyan inscriptions were found. Several of these are now in the museum at the Bardo near Tunis. Of these two are bilingual—one Libyan and Neo-Punic, and another Libyan and Latin, surmounted by a rough bas-relief.

Another series of megalithic structures in the north-west of Tunis, between Souk-el-Arba, and Bulla Regia, examined and described by Dr. Carton, consists of stone circles, lines and tables under which human remains were found buried, accompanied by rude pottery resembling early "Punic" feeding-bottles, bowls, &c. The skulls are said to be of the "Cro-

Magnon" type. There are also two broad cuttings into the hill, in the sides of which are dug out caves. In the neighbouring "Jebel-el-A'irsh," the modern burial places show that there still survive among the natives traces of the habits of their forefathers.

In Tripoli.—In Tripoli, the extensive and most interesting sites of Tarhuna and Gharian, have been described with a map and illustrations, by Barth, in his *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. I. and by Von Bary, in the *Revue d'Ethnographie*, Vol. II. p. 426, Paris, 1883. But the latest and fullest description, with photographic views, is that of Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for January, 1896. Mr. Cowper found several indications of phallic worship in these remains—a view which seems also to be suggested by the form of the towers of the Wahhabi Mosques of Jerba to the present day. He says, "What we find more or less ruined, at every Senam are the following:—firstly, a great rectangular enclosure of magnificent masonry, but seldom preserved to any height. Generally the enclosed space is divided at intervals by lines of short, square columns which in a few instances carry rudely-designed, but well-worked capitals. Secondly, the Senams proper. These are tall megalithic structures, trilithonic in shape, with jambs and capstone, but the jambs are frequently constructed of more than one stone, and they are always placed at intervals close to, or in line with the enclosure walls. As a rule, the side facing the enclosure is carefully dressed, while the other side is left rough, and in the jambs are always square perforations apparently formed with a view to support some sort of wooden structure. The Senams vary from six to fifteen feet in height, and are erected on carefully prepared footing-stones. They were not doorways, for the passage between the jambs averages but sixteen and a-half inches.¹, and they were in some way connected with ritual, for often, right before them, we find a massive altar flush with the ground. The Romans adopted and used these sites, and apparently preserved the Senams. Of this there is abundant evidence, and a few phallic sculptures which were found, all

¹ Gerhard Rohlfs, who visited these sites in 1879, considers that they were doorways, but I think incorrectly. (*Viaggio da Tripoli all'oasi Kufra*, p. 70.)

showing Roman influence, may possibly point to the form of rites the Romans found in use here." "The trilithons in themselves look older than the masonry of the enclosures. But I venture to say that it is only the idea—the traditional idea of the worship of great stones—that necessitated the erection of these strange monuments by builders who were masters of the art of masonry." "It is, however, most remarkable, that in the Mediterranean countries no distinct analogy can be traced between any other groups of megaliths and those on the 'high places' of Tarhuna. Indeed, neither in the Algerian dolmens, in the Maltese Temples, nor among the taulas and talayots of Minorca can we find much if anything which seems to elucidate the mystery. Strange as it may seem, it is none the less the fact that the only monuments now standing which parallel at all the Senams of Tarhuna are the great trilithons of Salisbury Plain. The key to Stonehenge may perhaps be found in the Senams of Tripoli, but who is to find the key to the Senams?"

In Cyrenaica.—I have not been able to ascertain whether any of the very numerous early remains in Cyrenaica, are of the same character as the pre-historic monuments in the other Barbary States. Neither Rohlfs nor Hamilton distinguishes the apparent age of those they describe. Hamilton's account of his *Wanderings in North Africa* in 1852, is introduced by a very good account of the early history of the Pentapolis, showing the strong Greek element in that part. But of the remains of the early Libyan inhabitants there seems to be nothing but the influence of their troglodytic habits to which I would trace the system of cave sepulture, which seems to be universal from Cyrene to Siwah. He mentions, however, (page 73) "some remarkable structures, peculiar I believe, to the Cyrenaica—circles of five or six feet high, surrounding a sarcophagus of the usual form. Most of them are in a very dilapidated condition, but there is one still nearly entire. It is formed of three layers of good masonry, making a square platform, on which the sarcophagus is placed, with a circle inscribed in the square of the base, formed by a ring of stones placed edgewise in juxtaposition, no cement remaining between them; their dimensions are about five feet by three." He also describes (page 139) a large square monument supposed to be the tomb of one of the

Ptolemies who reigned in this country, and which seems to have a distinct resemblance to the tombs of the Numidian kings, at Medghassen and "Tombeau de la Chrétienne," "built on a square base of rock, it presents a noble mass—the triangular entrance on the side opposite the hills is remarkable for its resemblance to that of the Great Pyramid." Hamilton visited the site of Agharmy—the Acropolis of the Oasis of Ammon, and also managed to penetrate apparently into the Sanctuary of Jupiter Ammon itself, at Siwah, but apart from their position on the peaks of hills—which seems Libyan—these monuments appear to be of an entirely Egyptian character.

Megalithic Remains Whence?—The question now arises—Who built these Megalithic monuments? Count Sierakowsky (*Das Schaūz*, Dresden, 1871) discusses this point and quotes Henri Martin as holding that they were the work of an Aryan race, who came over by Gibraltar into Africa, and who coalesced with a Libyan indigenous race of Hamitic extraction; and Alexander Bertrand, who thinks they were built by a people who were driven *from Asia* through North and West Europe by an Aryan migration. On the other hand, General Faidherbe does not agree with Martin's view of the Aryan origin of the Megalithic tombs, but considers that they are the remains of the original Libyan stock. Those enormous necropolis of Roknia and Mazela with three thousand and two thousand tombs respectively, can only be, he believes, the work of a stationary native race. These opinions are all interesting, but the mystery is still unsolved.

I think myself that these monuments may indicate the presence in early times of a Celtic race in Mauretania, Numidia, Africa, and Libya. On the other hand it would be intensely interesting to know whether any connection could be traced between the Senams of North Africa, and the great ruins at Zimbabwe, described by Mr. Theodore Bent in his *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*.

Ancient Modes of Sepulture.—Traces of a peculiar mode of sepulture are also found in South-eastern Algeria. A friend of mine there saw some ancient tombs containing huge earthen jars laid mouth to mouth and cemented together so as to form a closed cylinder large enough to contain a human body. I do

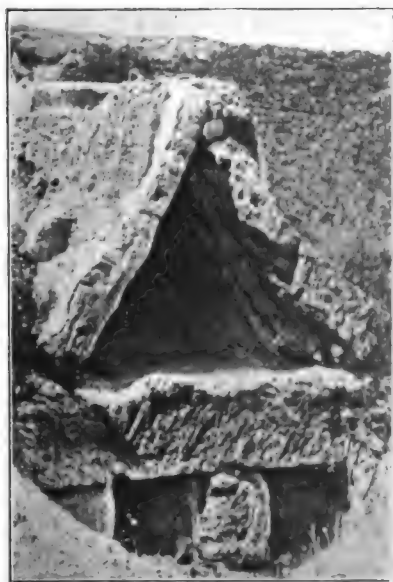
not know whether similar coffins exist elsewhere. In the South of Tunis, according to the natives of the highlands on the Tripolitan border, there occur enormous stone coffins in many of the caves, some twelve or fifteen feet long. This may be exaggerated, as the caves are dark, and the superstitious natives are afraid to examine the sarcophagi. I do not think they have been described, or even visited, by any European.

"Punic" Tombs.—But I cannot help thinking that many of the so-called "Punic" tombs, which have lately been unearthed at Carthage, and at Susa and Gabes, and other places in Tunis, among which some stone sarcophagi of great size have been found, must owe their peculiar forms to some Libyan influence at least. It is true that no Libyan inscriptions have been discovered at Carthage, but most of the many thousands of Punic epigraphs found there contain references to a goddess called "Tanit." No effigy of this goddess has appeared yet, and her attributes were a mystery until the discovery of an inscription last year, linking her name with that of Persephone, and apparently identifying Tanit with that deity. Now "Tanit" is evidently a Berber name—the characteristic feminine form commencing and ending in *t* shows that—and is possibly connected with the Egyptian "Anu," or "Ani." It also resembles the name of Tunis (originally "Tunit"), which is known to have existed before the foundation of Carthage. We may here have a clue to some pre-historic African Cult, which still existed in Punic times, and which, if my conjecture is correct, indicates a Libyan element in the population of Carthage which would doubtless affect Punic burial customs. The Punic tombs consist of chambers, generally two, side by side, constructed of massive squared stones, with a flat roof, surmounted by two blocks laid against one another in the form of a gable. The pottery and other objects laid with the body in these chambers, are mostly of Greek or Egyptian origin—the few "Punic" articles being of very primitive workmanship, mainly lamps consisting of a little clay plate with a part of the rim pinched together to form a rude spout to carry the wick.

Of historical Berber monuments, three at least are indubitable namely, the Medghassen, midway between Constantine and Batna, which was the family tomb of Masinissa; the so-called



CAVE DWELLINGS—MATMATA, SOUTH TUNIS.



[Face page 174
PUNIC TOMBS, CARTHAGE.

"Tombeau de la Chrétienne," about twenty-five miles W.S.W. of Algiers, said by Pomponius Mela in his work *De Situ Orbis* written about the middle of the first century, to be the "monumentum commune regiæ gentis"; and probably the tomb of Juba II. and his wife Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra, by Mark Antony; and the "Jedar" ("walls" or "enclosures") on the top of the three last peaks of the Jebel Akhdar, S.E. of Oran, which once bore an inscription by the Byzantine general, Solomon, but which were probably tombs of a much more ancient date. All these monuments are described in great detail by Sir Lambert Playfair in Murray's *Handbook to Algeria*, pp. 136, 206, and 272. It is sufficient for the present purpose to say that they were all three pyramids—built above low podiums—the Medghassen and the Tomb of the Christian circular, and the Jedar square. They contained several sepulchral, vaulted chambers, shut off from one another by stone slabs working in grooves, like portcullises. To these chambers spiral galleries led from steps coming down from an opening in the upper part of the podium. "The exterior masonry is remarkably fine, the stones being of great size, well cut, the joints not more in some places than the thickness of a knife, and each stone joined to its neighbour by a massive clamp, probably of lead." The encircling podium presenting a vertical wall, was ornamented with sixty engaged columns, the Tombeau Ionic and the Medghassen Doric surmounted by a frieze or cornice of simple form. The colonnade has at the cardinal points four false doors. These monuments, though Berber, thus show distinct Greek influence. The name Medghassen is derived by Playfair from "the plural of the Berber word Madghes, the patronymic designation of an ancient family from which Masinissa was descended. Ibn Khaldun says that Madghes was the son of Berr Ibn Kaïs; he bore the name of El Abter, and was the father of the Berbers Botr. The name still exists in that of the tribe inhabiting the vicinity, the 'Haracta Ma'der, and in that of a stream, the Wady Ma'der."

Several hundreds of Libyan inscriptions have been found, some accompanied by Neo-Punic or Latin translations. But these inscriptions have never been satisfactorily deciphered. The characters have some likeness to the "Tifinagh" writing still

in use among the Twariks. Mr. Halévy published in the *Journal Asiatique* of February and October, 1874, complete transcriptions of 250 Libyan texts, with an attempt at a translation of them. But, though undoubtedly very ingenious, I think his renderings are far from reliable. A few proper names may be correct, but I consider that Mr. Halévy has merely read into his translations many of the local names given by Procopius and Corippus, with the aid of a few etymologies drawn exclusively from the Kabyle dialect. Many of his identifications depend on a conjectured value of a single letter, and even that has to be frequently varied.

The only other specimen of an early North African speech, is the Punic lines in the "Poenulus" of Plautus. These are of course Phœnician. But they may be Liby-Phœnician, containing local terms of Libyan origin. The text however is so doubtful that it is almost impossible to judge. The Punic inscriptions of Carthage are in as pure Phœnician as those of Tyre or Sidon and closely resemble the Hebrew. But Plautus's specimens are very different, though that again may be due to errors in transcription through centuries of recopying by scribes entirely ignorant of the Punic language.

Coming to the present day, the most remarkable customs of the Berbers are: (1) Cave dwellings and underground store-houses; (2) the village republics of the Kabyles; (3) the royal and feudal system of the Twariks; (4) the veiling of men, but not of women, and female education and freedom among the Twariks; (5) arts and industries.

Cave dwellings.—With regard to (1) cave dwellings. In certain parts of North Africa this is a universal habit. In others, as among the desert tribes, it does not seem to exist. Even these, however, appear to have the same instinct, for they construct, where possible, "Qsur," or fortified villages, on the hill tops, as in the Mزاب country, and at 'Ain Salah, and in some of the Oases of Twat. The Berbers of Cyrenaica,¹ Tripoli, and Tunis are entirely troglodyte. The hilly parts of the Libyan Desert, the Gharian and Tarhuna Mountains in Tripoli,

¹ *Note.* Ammianus Marcellinus (Bk. xxviii. ch. 6, § 4) says that the people living in the plains around Leptis, when ravaged by the hordes of the Austoriani, took refuge in the caves.

the Duiat and Matmata ranges in Tunis, are literally honey-combed with dwellings in the rock. In Central Morocco, too, near Sifroo are villages of caves in the face of the cliff (see *North Africa*, Nov. 1902). In some parts these caves are used as storehouses for grain, &c., a stone house being built in front to live in, with an outside staircase and arched roof. This form of roof is also used in the subterranean villages in the plains in the same countries, especially in Tunis and Tripoli, where for many miles the rocky soil is thus undermined. The arched roofs are called "dēms" or "dāmūs," a word which some have derived from the Latin "domus." Among the Beni Mzab and in Twat, and among the Kabyles, these cellars are not used as habitations but only as granaries or "mātmūrā," a name probably derived from the Berber "tāmmūrt," *i.e.* the ground. The natives of the plains, though not really nomadic, live in goats'-hair tents, or in booths of sticks and skins called "gītūn," which are probably similar to the "mapalia"¹ or "megalia," in which the Libyan natives lived in Carthaginian times. The Shawia have a curious custom of building solid stone barns for produce, while they themselves live in fixed "duars" or encampments of "houses of hair." As for the Twariks, I have never heard of their using excavations for any purpose. They are tent-dwelling nomads, each tribe more or less confined to a fixed sphere. Mounted on swift dromedaries, which are said to be able to cover as much as 200 miles a day, the rider sleeping on the animal's back, they move from oasis to oasis, sometimes escorting caravans, sometimes trading themselves, more often lying in wait to pillage other travellers. Their language is extraordinarily rich in all that refers to camels, not one word of which is Arabic, which shows that the camel was not introduced into Africa by the Arabs.

Twarik Men Veiled.—Another peculiarity distinguishes the Twariks from other Berbers, namely the use of the veil by men. The Berber women are scarcely ever veiled. Though they are treated like other Mohammedan women in most respects, they differ in appearing freely before men with their face uncovered. But the Twarik women have still greater freedom, and have in many respects a unique position. The girls are taught to read

¹ See Corippus, *Johannid*, II. 50.

and write their own characters, while the men are quite uneducated. Twarik women choose their own husbands—an unheard of thing among Muslims ; polygamy is almost unknown, divorce very rare, marriage only dissolved by death. They are really the mistress of the home, and go freely about their work, or trade, unveiled. But the men all cover the lower part of the face, up to the eyes, with a black veil. Some suppose this is to keep the dust out of the mouth while riding through the sandy deserts. But it is more likely that it is an ancient custom¹ inherited from some extinct religious practice. This exceptional condition of the sexes recalls the stories of the Amazons. The name "Twarik," (singular "Targi") is said to be derived from the Arabic "Tārik," plur. "tawārik," signifying "one who abandons," *i.e.* who having adopted Islam, becomes a heretic ; or as Barth thinks, "who left Christianity for Islam," but this seems to me very doubtful. They call themselves "Imūshāgh," or "Imūhāgh," plur. "Imāzīghēn."

Unchastity.—In some Twarik tribes, as for instance, in Ugrefe, near Murzuk, among the Kel-owi, and the people of Agades and Tagama, and also among some of the Shawia, and especially the "Ulēd Nail," (*i.e.* "Ulēd Laīn," or "children of the accursed," from the curse that Sidi Abdalla, the Muslim conqueror, laid upon the women who refused to conform to Islam), the shameful custom prevails of unmarried girls earning their dowry by prostitution. All the women pass through this phase, and return home with the money they have gained, marry respectably, and sometimes make exemplary wives and mothers. There is no religious pretence connected with this custom, such as was observed with the Babylonian "Mylitta," or the practice of Cyprus.

Twarik Aristocratic System. (See *Grammaire Tamacheq* by M. Hanoteau.)—The Twariks' organised aristocracy also marks them off from other Berbers, whose instincts are rather republican or patriarchal.

The Twariks consist of two main divisions—the Imushagh and the Shaamba—who are hereditary enemies to one another. Both are equally robbers and pitiless in vengeance. The

¹ Ibn Khaldun says that the Twarik men wore this veil, or "litham," before they embraced Islam.

Imushagh are divided into several great fractions. The principal is the Kel-Azgar, who live around Ghat, to the south-west of Tripoli; the Kel Ahaggar, who are their western neighbours as far as Twat; the Kel Aïr, whose principal centre is Agades; the Yumeleden, dwelling south of the Ahaggar as far as the banks of the Niger.¹

Each of these nations consist of clans of "nobles" or "ihaggaren," and "vassals," or "imghad," who are under the suzerainty of their lords to whom they pay tribute. The "noble" clans seem to be extremely scanty in their numbers, some only consisting of a score or two of families. Their authority is entirely moral, but is apparently unquestioned. There are degrees of servitude. Some of the clans of "imghad" are not allowed to own camels, but only goats and asses. Others cannot bear arms. Both lords and vassals have lost all record of their origin. All that is known is that the vassals are descendants of a conquered race. But now all speak the same tongue, all observe the same manners and customs. The Ahaggar are proud, arrogant, and self-confident, and are of much fairer complexion and more graceful figures than the vassals. The Imghad, feeble, cowardly and base, and even more unmerciful to those in their power, than are the nobles. The Twariks keep up a feudal monarchy. The king, or "Amenukal," reigns with the help of the chiefs of the noble tribes. The crown is hereditary, but not direct. On the death of the king, the dignity passes not to his own, but to his sister's son.

Barth, Chap. XIV. says—"With regard to the custom that the hereditary power does not descend from the father to the son, but to the sister's son—a custom well-known to be very prevalent, not only in many parts of Negro-land, but also in India, at least in Malabar—it may be supposed to have belonged originally to the Berber race; for the Azkár, who have preserved their original manners tolerably pure, have the same custom, but they also might have adopted it from those tribes (now their subjects—the Imghad), who conquered the country from the natives. It may therefore seem doubtful whether, in the mixed

¹ "Kel" means "people." It signifies the people settled in any place—in opposition to the nomadic tribes.

empires of Ghanata, Melle, and Walata, this custom belonged to the black natives, or was introduced by the Berbers. Be this as it may, it is certain that the noble tribe of the Awelimmeden deem the custom in question shameful, as exhibiting only the man's distrust of his wife's fidelity ; for such is certainly its foundation." Under the king each tribe nominates its own chief or "amghar." The king of the Azgar, reigning in 1860, lived at Ghat, and was named "Hajj Mohammed ag Khetita." But the royal authority was exercised by a relative named "Ikhemukhen." The king of the Ahaggar was "Ag mama."

An account of the various "noble" and "vassal," and half-caste tribes will be found in Barth, Chaps. X. and XIV. The Twariks have not adopted Mohammedan proper names to the exclusion of others. The following are a few names of persons—masculine : Afuel, Ayuren, Akerkun, Ameshshehawi, Aghum—belu, Dahu, Egnes, Shita, Tfis, Intament ("the honey one"), Wamellen ("white"), Timidhi, &c. Feminine—Amenata, Betta, Shadi, Mekultu, Mala, Gagganazzuu, Nana, Setera ("my love"), Sughen, Mira, Telallemt Telullamt (the name of a bird of prey), Takkezt, Tezirzet, Twilel (the name of the wife of the King of the Yulemeden), Tabeghurt, ("happiness"), Tahit ("little fly"), Tawaqqazt ("lioness"), Tebeggenult, Tamfust, &c., &c.

Village Republics.—Among the Kabyles an elaborate system of village republics settles many matters of rights to property, inheritance, &c., according to tribal custom, which in other Muslim communities are arranged according to the Qur'an. The "Thajemm'ath" (from Arabic "Jema'a" or "assembly") is a sort of council of elders, nominated by the village, takes the place of the "Qādi" in civil affairs. This system apparently existed also among the Troglodytes of South Tunis, but Arab and Turkish misrule has nearly obliterated it. It only survives now among the Warghamma, on the littoral near the Tripolitan border. This does not spring from indifference in religion. All the Berbers are remarkably fervent, but practise their religious duties in different fashions of their own. Thus, the Kabyles have evolved an ecclesiastical system very like that of the Roman Church. Though there are neither priest nor sacraments in Islam, the "Mūrābāṭs" (called by the French "Marabouts") in Kabylia are the "curés" of the villages.

Circumcisions, marriages, deaths, fêtes, anniversaries, education, &c., &c., all are conducted by the "Murābat." The Murabats form tribes and clans to themselves, and are a kind of religious aristocracy. Though they speak the Berber tongue, they seem to be of Arabic origin, and keep up the exclusive study and use of the Arabic language for all religious and literary purposes. It argues deep religious convictions for Berbers to submit thus voluntarily to the unofficial authority of an alien caste. Another survival of old habits, in spite of the ordinances of Islam, is the eating of dog's flesh by the inhabitants of the Oases in South-west Tunis, about the "Shotts," *i.e.* those who belong anthropologically to the Gætulian, or palæolithic ("Neanderthal") type.

Dwellings.—In those parts where the people do not live in caves, or in tents, the houses are generally built of stone. In Jerba, and in the Sus country in Morocco, the homesteads are like small fortresses—square buildings with an open central courtyard for the cattle, into which the side rooms open. At the corners are square towers, for outlook and for defence against robbers, or the enemy in their numerous inter-tribal quarrels.

The Kabyle villages are built on the peaks of hills, and form a community holding underground storehouses in common, and tilling the hill sides most skilfully and industriously. In this they resemble the Sus of Morocco.

Commercial Instincts.—In general, all the Berbers are hard-working, and possess a strong commercial instinct. Thus the Kabyles, and the Beni Mzab, and the Islanders of Jerba are met with everywhere, singly or in small companies, peddling small wares,—jewellery, haberdashery, iron and brass ware,—or lending money at high interest, like gipsies or Jews. Certain trades too in the towns are almost exclusively in the hands of these races. In Tunis and Tripoli, all the grocers, oilmen, charcoal-sellers, and greengrocers, are Jerbis. All the bath men are also Jerbis, of a different sect. The water-carriers come from Biskra, or from Wadi Suf. In Algeria, the grocers, oil, and cloth-sellers are Mzabis, and the pedlars are Kabyles.

Industries.—The Berbers are generally a pastoral people. They practise few crafts—the principal being weaving, basket-work, pottery, and silver and brass ware. The weaving is all done by the women, who make woollen garments and carpets,

and goat and camel hair cloth for tents and sacks. The loom in use is a primitive contrivance, consisting of an upright frame before which the woman sits, or crouches. The warp is stretched between two horizontal beams, the alternate threads being attached to reeds. The woof is passed between the threads by hand, without any shuttle. Only one garment can be made at a time. Carpets and mats are made in the same way, the weaver, working on the reverse side of the carpet, does not see the pattern, neither has she any model to work from. Each family has its own hereditary design. Spinning too is accomplished without a wheel. The wool is simply twisted on to a spindle which hangs from the hand held above the head and revolves by the motion of the hand. Among the men, the weaving of the palmetto-leaf, and the halfa, or esparto grass, into baskets, matting, rope, netting, &c., is common. Most of the Berbers are skilful too in brass work, hammered or punched into artistic patterns, somewhat resembling the Indian models. Pottery of a rude kind is made by the women, and is much in use.

The form of the jars, dishes, water-bottles, &c. is strikingly like the Greek and Etruscan. The Berbers have hardly any other arts. Islam has rigorously banished all representations of the human face or form. But the ornamentation of vases with heraldic forms of fishes and animals, and the occasional painting of the same figures on walls and over doorways, so closely resemble the conventional types on Etruscan vases, that it is difficult to believe that the same influence has not originated both. The Berbers are entirely ignorant of the black glaze, and the fine terra-cotta of Etruria, but the designs on a modern North African jar, or brass tray, might have been servile imitations of Etruscan work, so exactly are the types reproduced. We know from history how close was the Etruscan alliance with Carthage against Rome, and of course, modern Berber art may derive its origin from that. But it seems likely too, that both the alliance and the art may have sprung from early and hereditary kinship.

History.—All the earliest notices of Libya agree in mentioning (1) an autochthonous race, or races; (2) subsequent invasions, pacific or hostile, from across the Mediterranean. There is no record of the earliest inhabitants of North Africa.

They were always regarded as sprung from the soil. Thus Herodotus (" *Melpomene*," Ch. 197) says: "The country is inhabited by four nations, and so far as I know, no more. Of these four nations, two are indigenous, and two are foreign. The indigenous nations are the Libyans and the Ethiopians. The former inhabit the northern part of Libya, the latter the southern part. The two foreign nations are the Phoenicians and the Greeks." In his account of the founding of the Theran Colony at Cyrene under Battus (IV. 145, &c.), and in the story of Jason and the Argonauts (IV. 179), the immigrant Greeks found an indigenous population organised into cities and kingdoms. The myth of Atlantis, which Plato (*Timæus*) puts into the mouth of Critias as authentic and founded on historical evidence, gives us some indication of a prehistoric north African race. The legends of the reign of Chronos and Atlas, sons of Japetos (Diodorus Sic. III. 61) in Libya, the exploits of Theseus and of Hercules, of Cyrene and Aristæus, of the Gorgons and the Amazons, all go to prove early Japhetic colonies in Libya, closely connected with the Pelasgians. But all these presuppose a native population already in possession. Dr. Bertholon, in the *Revue Tunisienne* of Oct. 1897, and Jan. and Apr. 1898, has published an exhaustive review of the various myths of ancient Greece, and the evidences of successive Ægean migrations into Libya, which prove the Pelasgian and Argive origin of one element at least of the Berber race. He also quotes from Mr. Maspero, Herr Brugsch, Mr. Lenormant, Professor Flinders Petrie and others, to show that the Ægeans were joined with the Libyans in those early invasions of Egypt, which are described in the inscriptions of Thothmes III., and Hammen-Hoptou III., under the name of "Hanebou" and "Tamahou," or "people of the north."

Several invasions of "Lebou" (Libyans), of "Meshawasha," (or Mysians), perhaps a form of the name "Mazigh" still borne by the Berbers of "Shardina" (Sardinians), of "Toursha" (Tyrsenes, probably the Etruscans), of "Kehaka," of "Leca" (Lycians), of "Shakulsha" (Sicules or Sicilians), of "Akausha" (Achæans), are described in the inscriptions of Karnak, and of Medinet Habou, translated by Mr. de Rougé and Dr. Chabas. By the time of the XIXth dynasty the colonisation of the

western part of Egypt by the Meshawasha and other Libyans was an accomplished fact. The XXIVth dynasty was of Libyan origin. Its founder Ta-f-nekt was formerly chief of a corps of Meshawasha. One of his descendants Psammetik, who founded the XXVIth dynasty was of fair complexion. There were then no less than 200,000 Greeks in Egypt. But that the Egyptians were of essentially distinct race from the Libyans is clear from Herodotus II., 18, where the inhabitants of Marée and Apis are said to have pleaded their Libyan origin as differing from the Egyptians in language and customs, as a reason for not conforming to the Egyptian religion. The discoveries of Mr. Flinders Petrie, and others, under the Egypt Exploration Fund, indeed reveal Libyan influence, and even domination, in that country in pre-Dynastic times, yet so different from all distinctively Egyptian culture, that I think it is beyond doubt that the earliest inhabitants of Libya were of an alien race to those about the Nile Delta. The evidence of Herodotus and Diodorus, too, makes it clear that the Libyans did not spring from the Ethiopians, though the latter confounds under the name "Ethiopian," many Sabæan tribes—such as the Ichthyophagi and Troglodytes bordering on the Red Sea—which were neither Nubian, nor Galla, nor negro. These considerations, together with the failure to trace any likeness between the Berber and the Coptic languages, seem to me to refute the theory of an entirely Hamite origin of the Berber race, such as Mr. Ernest Renan propounds ("*Les Langues sémitiques*,") "The Berber does not belong to the family of Semitic languages; it stands with regard to those languages in the same position as the Coptic, which may well be the principal idiom of a Hamitic family to which the Berber would belong." Before passing to the details of the further history of different Berber nations, I would suggest the following theory:—(1) A pre-historic immigration into North Africa from the South-east of a Sabæan race, probably of Hamitic or "Cushite" origin (see Genesis, x. 6 and 7), though of so early a type as to be hardly distinguishable from the Semitic. This I think is evidenced by the chain of cave dwellings from South Arabia, across the Red Sea, through Tigré and other parts of Abyssinia (see Mr. Theodore Bent's *Sacred City of the Ethiopians*. Chapters VIII. and XIII.), and by

the Semitic form of the grammar, and the non-Semitic vocabulary which peculiarity seems to be common to the Berber, to the Himyaritic and Sabæan languages of Cushite Arabia, and to the Amharic of Abyssinia.

(2) A pre-historic immigration from the North-west of an Iberian race, connected with the Basques and the Ligurians evidenced by the legend of the Atlantides.

(3) A pre-historic immigration of Celts from the North, more or less associated with the Etruscans and Sicilians,—proved by the complexion of the fair Libyans, and by the megalithic remains in the Barbary States, and by the conventional forms of artistic figures.

(4) A constant influx of Ægean and Greek immigration from the Greek Islands, Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean generally, dating back to Pelasgian and Mycenæan times. I should be inclined to attribute the inhabitants of Morocco to the Iberians and Celtiberians,—those of Algeria and Tunis, Tripoli and Cyrenaica, to the Celts and Ægeans grafted on the Sabæan stock, and the Twariks to the Ægeans who gradually dominated the scattered Sabæans, dropped here and there from Abyssinia to Barbary, but whose language was almost entirely supplanted by that of the subject race. This is, I think, evident from the Homeric character of the Twarik princely organisation, from the “knight-errant” type of [the people, and from the evidence of earlier races, now vassals, ruled by a conquering race who speak their language.

Barth (*Travels in North Africa*, page 153,) discusses in detail the origin of the Twariks, and their relations with the subject races. He says—“The Berbers in conquering this country from the Negro, or rather I should say the sub-Libyan race (the Leucæthiopes of the ancients) did not entirely destroy the latter, but rather mingled with them by intermarriage with the females, thereby modifying the original type of their race, and blending the severe and austere manners and the fine figure of the Berber with the cheerful and playful character and the darker colour of the African. The way in which they settled in this country seems to have been very similar to that in which the Greeks settled in Lycia.”

A remarkably close parallel is thus offered to the mediæval

feudal system in England, when the aristocracy of Norman origin gradually adopted the tongue of the Anglo-Saxon serf.

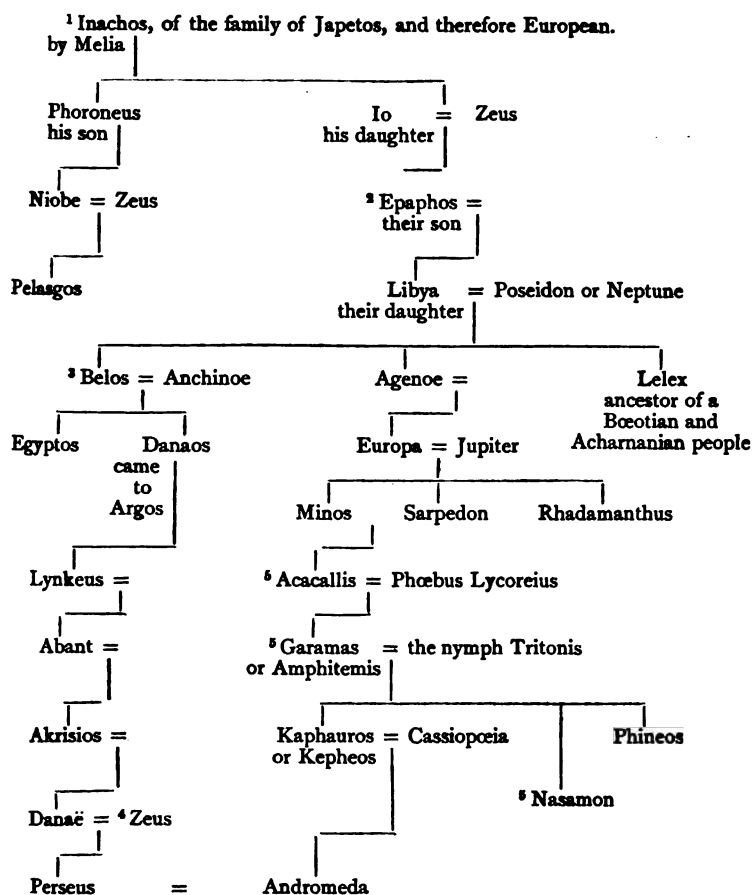
When we come to the names of the various tribes of Libyans we find in Herodotus (IV., 168, &c.) first nearest to Egypt the "Adyrmachides," then the "Giligammæ" as far as the Island of Aphrodisias. Next, but inland, come the "Asbystæ," a race of horsemen; between whom and the coast are Cyreneans. Further west come the "Auschises," among whom dwell the "Cabales," then the "Euesperides." These tribes occupied Barka. Modern Tripolitania was occupied by the Nasamones and the Garamantes, and by the extinct Psylli. The description of the manners of these tribes agrees pretty closely with those of the present inhabitants (see also *Diad. Sic.* Book III. Chaps. 49 to 51).

But both the Nasamones and the Garamantes seem to be either of Greek origin, or a remnant of a Greek domination. The tree on the opposite page shows the connection of the various myths among themselves and with the Pelasgi.

According to Agrætus (in Herodianus) Amphitemis had the following sons by other nymphs—Adyrmachis, Ararancelas, Maclys, Macas, and Psyllos.

The only value of these myths is to show that legendary connections existed in the earliest times between Egypt (whence the religion of Greece was derived), and the Greek islands and Libya; and that the Garamantes were held to be the progenitors of the Nasamones and other Tripolitan tribes, and that they were of European stock. "We¹ find in Herodotus a very important notice of these Garamantes. He speaks (Book IV., 183) of the Garamantes, a numerous nation who cultivate the soil, and possess many palm-trees, and also a race of cattle with horns coming down over their brows. These Garamantes hunt down the Ethiopian troglodytes, a fleet-footed people, who speak a language which has nothing in common with that of other nations. In another passage (IV., 174) the same author does not describe the Garamantes as such a civilised folk; he places them in a plain full of ferocious animals, avoiding all communication with mankind, deprived of weapons, and ignorant of their use. We may form the opinion that the former civilised Gara-

¹ Dr. Bertholon, *Revue Tunisienne*, No. 17, January, 1898.



¹ See John of Antioch, fragm. vi. § 14. *Fragm. hist. gree.*

² Solin. XXIV. 2. Pindar, IVth. Pythian. §

³ Apollodorus, II. 1, § 4.

⁴ Herodotus, VII. 61.

⁵ Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonauts*, Ode IV. ch. iv. 1489-1496. See also *Agætas*, fragm. 1 and 4.

mantes are the descendants of the mythic Garamas, while the second represent the savage natives, conquered and dominated by them : perhaps those whom the same author calls "Ethiopian Troglodytes." The Nasamones would be the result of the cross between the Cretan element and the local tribes. These tribes, represented by the nymph Tritonis, belonged to the race

of Japetos. They were, therefore, also of European origin; in fact, Tritonis must have been sister to Athena, if not Athena herself."

This interpretation of the legends would bear out my theory of the origin of the Twariks.

Next to the Nasamones, Herodotus places the Maces, then the Gindanes, then the Lotophagi, the Machlyes, and the Auseans, evidently the peoples living around the Gulf of Gabes and the Island of Jerba. His account of these people is still recognisable. To the west of Lake Triton,—probably the "Shott" in the South of Tunis, came the Maxyes, the Zauces, and the Gyzantes. These are described as not nomadic, but as dwelling in houses in a hilly, well-wooded country, which is easily identified with the Aures, Kroumirie, and Kabylia. Perhaps the names Maxyes and Zauces and Gyzantes have some connection with the present "Amazigh," Zuwawa," and "Beni-Iznacen."

Coming now to Sallust, we get the first authentic account professedly drawn from historic sources. As Governor of Numidia, Sallust had access to legends and records such as the works of the Numidian king Hiempsal which were unknown to other writers, and soon after perished entirely. In his "*Bellum Jugurthinum*," Chapter XVIII., he says that the earliest inhabitants of Africa were the Gætulians, and the Libyans, who were wild, savage, and unsettled. The Gætulians lived under the burning zone, the Libyans near the sea. The Numidians he traces to the half-bred descendants of the Medes, Persians, and Armenians who followed Hercules into Spain, and who scattered into Africa on his death, and the Gætulians. Of these the Persian element remained nearer the ocean, the rest occupying the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. He traces the peculiar form of the native huts, or "gītūn," still in use among the various Berber tribes, to the hulls of their ships which these immigrants brought ashore, and formed dwellings of, by turning them over. The "Moors," he says, are the descendants of the Armenians, and Medes, and the Libyans, who were less warlike than the Gætulians. From their position near the Straits of Gibraltar across which they traded with Spain, Sallust evidently here refers to the Riffs and Kabyles.

This theory of the fourfold origin of the Berbers, though Sallust hesitates to accept any responsibility for its value, has much in its favour. It evidently records the tradition of, (1) the African ("Gætulian") basis of the Southern Berber tribes; of (2) those pre-historic fair Libyans who still form an element of the Northern Berbers; of (3) an Iberian immigration from Spain within historic, or rather legendary, times; (I think the "Medes" are only brought in to account for the name "Moors"); and (4) the intermixture of Ægean, or Japhetic ("Persian," "Armenian") blood in the Eastern and Zenati Berbers.

Procopius (de Bello Vandalico, Book II. 10) gives another account to which is probably due the Arabic versions of the origin of the Berbers. He says that the earliest inhabitants of Libya were called "autochthones" from their having lived there from ancient times. It was of these people that Antæus was king, who fought with Hercules at Clipea. On the conquest of Canaan by Joshua certain Phœnicians fled to Numidia where they built a town called Tigisis (Ain Taxa near Sigus, south of Constantine) before the gates of which they erected two stones with an inscription. On the arrival of Dido, she and her companions were received kindly as kinsmen by these earlier immigrants. Procopius makes the strange statement that the native Moors still used the *Phœnician* language, as descendants of the earlier Canaanites—not of the Carthaginians. On the other hand in Book I. 16, Belisarius is represented as saying "the Libyans being Romans by origin" (οἱ Λίβυες Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες).

These statements *may* preserve the memory of an Amorite or Horite colony in North Africa, but the mention of Joshua seems to give an apocryphal air to the story.

Ammianus Marcellinus, Corippus,¹ and Orosius, all give very

¹ *Note.* Corippus, an African bishop, who lived about A.D. 696, in his *Johannidos* gives several interesting particulars about the "Moors" of Tunis and Algeria. He remarks on their dark complexion. ("Maura videbatur facies, nigro colore horrida," Bk. I. 245.) He compares their language to savage barking. ("Temperet insuetis nutantia carmina verbis Nam fera barbaricæ latrant sua nomine linguae," II. 26.) The numerous tribe of the Frexes are said to be equally warlike on foot and on horseback. ("Densissima turmis Frexes. . . . Fortis gens et dura viris bellique tumultu Effera, seu pedes it campis præsumpta per hostes, Sive frementis equi pulsat calcaribus armos," II. 43.) The nomad tribe of the Macares are described as living in booths in the

interesting details of the natives of North Africa in their times (fourth to seventh centuries) but they do not throw much light on Berber origins. The principal tribes were then the "Mazices" (the modern "d Amazigh") and the "Frexes" or "Ferices" perhaps the "Fraishish." Orosius, a Spanish presbyter who visited St. Augustine at Hippo in A.D. 415 and again in 417, in his "*Adversus paganos historiarum libri septem*" Book I. chap. II., gives a remarkably accurate and intelligent account of the boundaries and natural features of the Roman provinces west of Egypt. He mentions that though Tripoli was called the "region of the Arzuges," the name Arzuges "also applied generically to a great distance along the coast of Africa." South of Tripoli he places the Gætulians, the Nothabres, and the Garamantes; south of Tunis he gives the "Montes Uzará," and after them nomadic tribes of "Æthiopians" as far as the Æthiopian Ocean (*i.e.* the Gulf of Guinea). South of Algeria is Mount 'Astrixis' which divides between the living land and the sands which stretch as far as the Ocean, in which also rove the Æthiopians 'Gangines.' To the south of Morocco were the tribes of "Auloles" which are now called Galaulæ, whose border was as far as the Hesperian Ocean." I should think that Orosius, being a Spaniard, would have accurate information about the western provinces of North Africa. The addition of the G to the name of the "Auloles," seems to point to Gothic influence (*c.f.* Guadalquivir for Wadilkebir). The attempt to identify the names of tribes and individuals given in the Greek and Latin writers with the Berber names that survive is enticing, but for our present purpose unnecessary.

We come now to the native historians and the legends they preserve of the Berbers' own traditions as to their origin. Unfortunately these are absolutely worthless. It appears that no Berber historian has ever written anything in his own language—those from whom Ibn Khaldun drew his information having apparently used Arabic—and that very bad Arabic. The great author shows too that their accounts are mere inventions.

thick forests on the mountains. ("Silvaizan Macares que vagi, qui montibus altis Horrida præruptis densisque mapalia silvis Objecta condunt securi rupis ad umbram." II. 58.)

Most traced their descent from Goliath who was slain by David. Others impudently connected their line with the Himyaritic royal family, or with the Coreish!—A mythical king “Ifricos” gave them the name of “Berbers”—“There were therefore Coreishides in the time of Ifricos; now Coreish, the ancestor of this family, was born about the year 200 of our era; therefore the Berbers and Ifricos himself who, they say, gave his name to Africa, arrived in this country between the years 222 and 622 of our era!” (Baron de Slane, *Ibn Khaldun*, Vol. IV. p. 567.)—The only Arabic historian of any critical value is Ibn Khaldun himself, and he, after refuting the theories of others, says oracularly that the only true account is that “the Berbers are the children of Canaan, son of Ham, son of Noah. Their ancestor was named Mazigh; their brethren were the Gircashites (Agrikesh); the Philistines, children of Casluhim son of Misraim son of Ham were their relatives. Their king (*i.e.* of the Philistines) bore the name of Goliath, and it was the alliance of the Philistines with the Gircashites and other Canaanites in their wars against Israel that occasioned the legend that the Berbers were descended from Goliath”—(transl. of De Slane, Vol. I. p. 184)—This author, however, seems to allow that the Senhaja, *i. e.* Zenaga, of whom are the Twariks, and the Ketama (of whom are the Kabyles, Zuwawa) were of Arabian (Himyaritic) descent, though he also gives them a Berber pedigree too (Vol. I. p. 293, and Vol. II. p. 2) and that the Zenata were of a different Canaanite race (Vol. III. p. 180 etc.). Broadly, he divides the Berbers into two great branches—the Botr (including the Zenata) and the Beranes (including Zenaga, and Ketama). Though the native historians are absolutely ignorant as to the origin of the Berbers, they are apparently perfectly reliable as to the relationships of the various nations among themselves, and as to their history since the seventh century A.D. Ibn Khaldun gives some interesting particulars of the Twariks, Vol. II. p. 64. “The Muletthamim, (*i.e.* the veiled people,) a nation of Senhaja race, inhabited the sterile region which extends to the south of the sandy desert. From time immemorial, for many centuries before Islam, they had continued to roam over this region in which they found all that they needed. Instead of the products of the Tell and of cultivated land, from which they

lived at a distance, they used the milk and flesh of their camels, by avoiding civilised districts they had become accustomed to isolation, and being as brave as they were fierce, they had never bent under the yoke of foreign dominion. They occupied the parts neighbouring on the 'Rif'¹ of Abyssinia, and the territory which separates the country of the Berbers from that of the Blacks. They veiled their faces with the 'litham,'² a garment which distinguished them from other nations." The religion of these nomads, Ibn Khaldun says, was Magianism, probably meaning fetishism of some kind. They were divided into many tribes, but formed one powerful nation under hereditary kings. One of these tribes, the Lemtuna, got the upper hand of the rest, and eventually gave rise to the Almoravide (or Sanhadja) dynasty which ruled in Africa and Spain. The name "Sanhadja," the Arabic form of "Zenaga," still survives in "Senegal."

As for the name Berber, there are, of course, many conjectures as to its meaning. I should think it must be derived from the Greek "*βάρβαροι*" which seems to have been simply onomatopœic. But the root occurs in the name "Bornu". Barth says (Chap. XXIX.) "I do not at all doubt of some connection existing between the ruling family of Bornu and the Himyaritic or Cushite stock; but I doubt its immediate descent from the royal Himyaritic family. But be this as it may, I think that Leo Africanus, who is a very good authority for general relations, is right in stating that the King of Bornu originated from the Libyan tribe of the Bardoa, a tribe also mentioned by Makrizi as Berdôa. That there is an ethnological connection between the names Bernu or Bornu, Borgu, Berdoa, Berdama Berauni, Berber can scarcely be doubted; but to many the Berdôa might seem to have nearer relations with the Tedà or Tebu than with the real Berber or Mazigh. Sultan Bello certainly, in the introduction to his history of the conquests of the Fúlbe, expressly says that the Bornu dynasty was of Berber origin; and it is on this account that the Hausa people call every Bornu man "ba-Berberche," and the Bornu nation "Bérbere."

¹ "Rif" means a well-watered country with plantations. In Africa it is used of countries bordering on the sea.

² A veil formed of a broad band covering the lower part of the face, up to the eyes.

"Now if it be objected that the Kanúri or Bornu language does not appear to contain any Berber elements (which indeed it does not) I have only to adduce the exactly parallel example of the Bulála, a brother dynasty of the Bornu royal family, descended from the same stock, who, having settled and founded a dynasty among the tribe of the Kúka, in the territory of Fittri, still continued to speak their native language, that is the Kanúri, in the time of Leo, but have now entirely forgotten it, adopting the language of the people over whom they ruled, and similar examples are numerous"—From the marriage arrangements of the royal tribe of Bornu (similar to that of the Kel-owi, see p. 178) and from the position of women, Barth infers that a kind of compromise took place among the strangers—Berbers or rather Imóshagh (Mazigh) from the tribe of the Berdoa—and the tribe or tribes among whom they settled. It was due to the close friendship between Bornu and Tébu that the name of Berauni which originally belonged to the inhabitants of Bornu, is still at present the common name given by the Twarik to the Tébu, or rather, the latter are a race intimately related to the original stock of the Kanuri, as must become evident to every unprejudiced mind that investigates their language."

I have no means of comparing these, and other languages of the Central Sudan, but it seems to me likely that the Hausas, the Kanuri, the Tebu, and some other Sudanese peoples (the Fulbe or Fellata seem to be a more modern immigration) represent that aboriginal substratum of North African races, which is called "Gætulian." The incessant warfare in the Sudan, the slave-trade, the destructions of the hordes of Islam, intermarriage and concubinage, and other confusing elements, have doubtless made it almost impossible to find clear anthropological distinctions. But I should think that these non-Bantu races would attach to that early stream which left South Arabia, crossed the Red Sea into Abyssinia and thence divided, one part apparently travelling southward into Mashonaland, another North-westward into what was afterwards called Libya, and across the Mediterranean into Europe. If traces of cave-dwellings or cave tombs; of megalithic structures; of chipped flint implements; of cranial developments similar to those of "Palæolithic man"; and if any linguistic affinities can be discovered in the Central Sudan, I

should conclude that another section of this same Cushite stock had struck off westward into Kanem, Bornu and Sokotu. Now that the States around Lake Chad, and along the Binue are in European hands, and peace and good government are in prospect in these distracted countries, a grand opportunity is opening up for investigating these and other scientific problems, and an unexpected light may yet be thrown on the early history of the whole of Africa.

GEO. BABINGTON MICHELL.

TUNIS, *June 6th*, 1902.

CONTRASTS IN AFRICAN LEGISLATION

OFFICIAL publications have been issued this year relating to administration and taxation in two of our African dependencies, and they indicate such widely different policies as regards natives that they are worthy of notice.

Page 44 of the Transvaal Blue Book cd 904, issued January 1902, gives the text of a proclamation dated 10th December 1901, regulating the trade in liquor in that colony. This proclamation is to amend a South African Republic Ordinance No. 19 of 1898.

The proclamation forbids any "coloured person," that is, any "African or Asiatic native or coloured American, or St. Helena person, Coolie or Chinaman, whether male or female, to obtain by purchase or barter, wine, spirituous or malt liquor, methylated spirits, or spirits of wine or any other intoxicating brew or mixture," the penalty being liability to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

This seems a very stringent law enacted, be it remembered, with the object of preventing four-fifths of the population getting any intoxicating liquor whatever.

The Ordinance goes on to deal with the supplier of liquor to natives in the following terms:—

Any one who sells, barter, or otherwise supplies any "coloured person" with any of the beverages mentioned above, is, for a first offence, liable to imprisonment with or without hard labour, for a period of not less than six months, and not more than twelve months, and at the discretion of the Court to a fine not exceeding £250. In default of payment of the fine, imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a further period

of six months may be inflicted. For a second offence the penalties, in all respects, are doubled.

For a third or any subsequent offence, the period of imprisonment is for not less than two years and not more than three, and a fine not exceeding £1,000, with imprisonment, in default of payment of the fine, for a further period of not more than two years. Hard labour, as in the previous cases, may or may not be inflicted.

The sale, purchase, or barter of Kafir beer is also prohibited "in any town, and within an area of six miles from the boundaries thereof, and on any public diggings."

To justify legislation of this character, there must be very strong reasons. In Cape Colony, under the Innes Act of 1898, the sale of liquor was under severe restrictions, and, roughly speaking, natives could only procure it on presentation of a permit signed by an employer or some other person in authority.

Martial law was proclaimed on the 22nd July 1901, and the sale to natives was entirely prohibited, with the result that "crime diminished, health improved, and drunkenness ceased," and permanent total prohibition was advocated by many of the magistrates who had the administration of the law.

In our West African dependencies, quite another picture is presented. In Lagos, for example, the Governor, Sir William McGregor, in his message accompanying the estimates, which was read to the Legislative Council of that colony on the 7th March last, refers to the liquor question, and although his message is little more than an array of figures, with explanatory comments, it seems to me the most powerful argument for lessening the quantity and improving the quality of the liquor imported which I have yet seen. As regards quantity, the Governor wrote as follows :—"The revenue derived from spirits : comprising under that term, gin, rum, whisky, brandy, and alcohol, for the last ten years, as given below, will enable you to form an opinion as to what may be expected for next year. The table gives the proportion of spirits to other imports, and ratio of the revenue from spirits to the total receipts for each year."

	Total value of Spirits.	Percentage of total imports.	Rate of Duty. per gallon	Revenue from Spirits.	Percentage of whole Revenue.
1892.....	£ 65,581 0 2	12-56	8d.-1s.	£36,401 3 4	62'25
3.....	77,661 14 10	10-37	1s.	70,470 3 11	67'64
4.....	111,526 7 10	15-65	1s.	84,462 19 7	71'50
5.....	99,400 18 10	12-18	1s.	92,769 18 3	72'26
6.....	57,763 9 10	6-4	1s.	121,569 15 5	74'71
7.....	60,783 11 5	7-88	1s.-2s.	122,024 19 7	76'35
8.....	76,611 0 2	8-43	2s.	135,465 17 10	75'34
9.....	61,489 3 10	6-36	2s.-3s.	130,405 16 6	74'22
1900-1.....	53,791 11 1	6-66	3s.	139,151 14 3	69'77
10 months of 1901, 1902 }	50,626 17 1	8-26	3s.	125,174 0 10	65'15
Estimated 1902-3			3s.	149,000 0 0	61'06

The result seems a satisfactory one, indicating as it does a progressive decrease in the imports following upon the progressive increase in duty. 8'26 per cent. does not seem an undue proportion of liquor to other goods, but while accurate as giving the proportions at the port of shipment in Europe, it gives quite an inaccurate representation of the proportion so far as the native buyers are concerned.

Freight, commission, shipping charges and duty have to be added, and while these amount to about 20 per cent. of the cost on cottons and hardware, which are almost entirely of British origin, they amount in the case of gin, which is exclusively of foreign origin, to 175 per cent., that is 20s. worth of cotton goods costs 24s. when laid down as a saleable article in the merchant's store, while the same value in gin costs 55s. The comparison therefore should be between 24s. and 55s., and not between 20s. and 20s. On this basis I add some figures which show that in Lagos in 1899 the proportion of spirit imports to other goods was 18'30 per cent. while on the Governor's method of reckoning the proportion is only 7'37 per cent.

Government Imports	£119,657 4 4	Free of duty.
Spirits	62,012 17 11	3s. per gallon.
General goods	779,127 2 8	
	<hr/>	
	960,797 4 11	

Proportion of Spirits to General Goods, 7'37 per cent.

Leaving out government imports, which do not concern native trade in any way, we have

General Goods	£779,127 2 8	
Duty on same	43,991 12 2	Actual
Freight „	112,973 8 8	Estimate 14½% of cost.
	<hr/>	
	£936,092 3 6	Cost in Lagos.

Spirits, that is, absinthe, brandy, cordials, gin, rum, and whiskey.

Gallons, 1,043,153	Cost.....	£62,012	17	11	= 1/2½ per gallon.
	Duty	130,386	7	6	Actual
Freight and charges at 4d. per gallon...		17,386	4	0	Estimate.

		£209,785	9	5
<i>Cost laid down abroad—</i>				
For General Goods	£936,092	3	6	
Spirits	209,785	9	5	
		£1,145,877	12	11

Proportion of Spirits to General Imports, 18·30 per cent.

A better way still of estimating the extent of the trade would be to ascertain what proportion of the exports of African produce are paid for in liquor.

This is rather a difficult thing to do, unless the accounts of exporters of produce were produced; we do, however, know what the imports of liquor are, and what the exports of produce, and can get at a fair estimate in this way, although the absence of information as to working expenses or profits has the effect of reducing the proportion. In 1899, for example, I have shown that in Lagos the cost of spirits laid down there and duty paid was £209,785 9s. 5d.

The declared value, that is, I suppose, the cost to the exporter, of the five principal articles of export—palm oil, palm kernels, rubber, mahogany and cocoa, was £779,736, which gives 27 per cent. as the proportion of produce paid for in liquor.

In 1900, 897,619 gallons were imported.

Value.....	£55,838	17	4	= 1/2½ per gallon.
Duty	134,643	0	9	Actual
Freight and charges.....	14,960	6	0	Estimate.

£205,442 4 1

The value of the same five articles of export was £706,304, which gives 29 per cent. as the proportion of produce paid for in liquor.

We now come to the question of quality. On this point Sir W. McGregor in his message, referring to previous analyses which he had made, says "Up to a few days ago, I had very good grounds for saying that the quality of the spirits imported here was, as trade spirits, decidedly good. I had, however, deemed it advisable that the examination should be more or less continuous, and that it should embrace spirits from all parts

of the territory. A sample of alcohol was quite lately sent us from a country market which on analysis was found to contain the poisonous proportion of 4·4 per cent. by weight of fusel oil. Ten samples were obtained immediately from all the different stocks of alcohol then in bond in Lagos, and one was purchased in the open market, for examination. The table below will give you full information with regard to the different samples.

<i>Importing Ship.</i>	<i>Origin of Alcohol.</i>	<i>Entered inwards.</i>	<i>Absolute Alcohol by weight.</i>	<i>(Fusel Oil) Amyl Alcohol by weight.</i>
A ...Thekla Boblen...	Hamburg ..	Sept., '01...	83·91%	.. 4·31% ..
B ...Hausa	"	..22 Oct., ..	81·50	.. 1·26 ..
C ...Ilorin	"	.. 9 ..	59·18	.. 4·22 ..
D ...Iddo.....	"	.. 3 Feb., ..	74·50	.. 2·42 ..
E ...Ilorin	"	.. 9 Oct., ..	75·96	.. 3·54 ..
F ...Bida ..	"	..10 Dec., ..	79·87	.. 2·01 ..
G ...Egga	"	..20 Jan., '02...	77·80	.. 2·58 ..
H	"	..30 Sept., '01...	75·70	.. 3·83 ..
I ... ..	"	.. ..	80·75	.. 1·68 ..
K	"	..20 Jan., '02...	66·20	.. 2·33 ..
L ...Retail	Lagos .....	.. ..	84·44	.. 1·36 ..

The average of the 11 samples is Absolute Alcohol, 77·16 per cent.

" " " " Amyl Alcohol, 2·68 "

Now 77·16 per cent. of absolute alcohol, plus 2·68 per cent. of fusel oil, is not a wholesome beverage, and yet 265,720 gallons of overproof spirits, similar in quality to the foregoing samples, we may presume, were imported into Lagos during the first nine months of the financial year 1901-2; equal to, if the import goes on, 354,293 for the twelve months. We may safely conclude that it will go on, as the import during the previous year was only 107,432 gallons, and where overproof spirit comes, it comes to stay. A very few years ago such liquor was quite unknown in Lagos. In the neighbouring French colony of Dahomey it has almost killed the trade in liquor of anything under the strength of proof. Now, what puzzles one is, why the "coloured person" on the West Coast of Africa should get as much absolute alcohol as he likes, even with the injurious proportion of 2·68 per cent. of fusel oil, while the one in the Transvaal gets clapped into gaol if he procures a glass of beer or spirits, and why should the illicit retailers in the Transvaal be stigmatized by Lord Milner as "undesirables"—see page 26 of the Transvaal Blue Book—and be liable to such extreme penalties for selling liquor, while on the West Coast no restriction whatever exists, no limit is placed upon the number of licenses granted, and no

inquiry is made as to the character of the licensee. Those who see no harm in the trade argue that the import, though large, is spread over a wide area of country, and that the amount consumed per head is small ; also that drunkenness is not common in the country, as one may live a long time on the West Coast, and not see a person the worse for liquor.

There is a good deal of truth in both arguments. For the first, the poverty of the native has protected him to some extent. A few years ago all the wealth was in the hands of chiefs and headmen, but as a result of the many expeditions of late years, the power of these chiefs is broken, and the chance of acquiring wealth is open to every one.

The use of British silver as currency has also helped the poorer native ; he now can grow rich without his neighbour's knowledge, formerly, he could not, the bulky nature of any accumulated wealth making it obvious to the covetous eye of his owner or ruler.

For these reasons, the improvement in the slave's social condition puts within his reach the means of procuring more liquor. Then as regards the other argument, that the native is seldom seen the worse for liquor. When he comes to do business with any one, whether it be business with a Government official or a merchant, the native comes early in the morning, and always comes sober. He is not such a fool as to come in any other condition, but visit him in the afternoon in his own compound, and a different opinion as to his sobriety would probably be arrived at.

A third argument is, that if we do not supply him with liquor he will use his own home-made intoxicants, and it is said they are more deleterious than any imported liquor. It must be a very curious beverage indeed which is more deleterious than the alcohol-cum-fusel oil sent to Lagos.

Sir William McGregor disposes of this argument by his analyses. He says : "The average alcoholic contents of the spirituous liquors imported by Lagos last year were as follows :

Gin, percentage of absolute alcohol by weight	.....	37'15 per cent.
Rum	" " " "	44'36 "
Whiskey	" " " "	41'07 "
Brandy	" " " "	43'21 "
Alcohol	" " " "	85'46 "

while the native intoxicants were as follows :

Raphia Palm Wine	percentage of absolute alcohol by weight	1'67	per cent.
" " "	After 7 days	" "	" "
Elais Palm Wine	" "	" "	" "
Guinea Corn Beer	" "	" "	" "

We have seen that increase of duty means decrease of imports, and if no other conditions had to be considered, the remedy would be very simple: raise the duty. The question of revenue now arises.

West African possessions are expensive to work, the European population is small, the natives are poor, and they have a rooted objection to direct taxation. Practically the whole revenue is raised from import duties, and we see that from spirits alone about 70 per cent. of the revenue in Lagos is raised. The other West African possessions are in much the same position.

For the Government, the question is, how far can they go in raising the duty without losing revenue through a reduction in the imports, and it is further complicated by the fact of our colonies being scattered along the coast, with wedges of territory belonging to other European powers thrust between them.

France and Germany both have lower tariffs than England in their West African possessions, and importers in English Colonies say that if you increase the tariff you simply divert trade to your opponents, and that as smuggling prevails to a great extent, your native is not a bit better off. I think more weight is given to this argument than it deserves, at all events, as regards Lagos and Southern Nigeria, both of which Colonies I know well. These two possessions have no foreign power between them, they have a common tariff, and as the coast line of the two is something like 500 miles in extent, only a small strip on the west of Lagos and the east of Nigeria could be affected by smuggling.

Sir William McGregor, the Governor of Lagos, is making a road along the western boundary of that colony which if carefully patrolled, should greatly reduce, if not prevent altogether, smuggling from that side. On the eastern boundary of Nigeria the nearest port to German Cameroons is Old Calabar, and even with a lower tariff, I believe very little smuggling goes on; at all events, I spent nine months of 1900

in that river and I do not remember having heard that our trade was affected in any way from that side.

We have, therefore, Lagos and Nigeria, in which to make the experiment of a higher tariff; where, instead of raising 70 per cent. of our revenue from spirits, we might raise the whole of it and stimulate the trade in Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Glasgow goods, by making them entirely free of duty.

If Sir William McGregor's plan of patrolling the boundary road is a failure, and large quantities of spirits enter Lagos from French Dahomey, then try the experiment, I believe a successful one on the Gold Coast, of having a low tariff district on the boundary, and the tide of smuggling will then flow the other way, from Lagos to Dahomey, and France will have the trouble and expense of patrolling her side of the boundary line. A little of this might induce her rulers to raise their duty to our level and eventually lead to an agreement amongst all European powers to raise the rate and have the same tariff all along the coast.

Nigeria, in 1900 imported 1,431,943 gallons of spirits, of which the declared value was £121,004, her total imports, excluding specie, but including all government imports, being £980,325, while the declared value of all her exports of produce was £1,130,431. Dealing with these figures, as with those concerning Lagos, we have the following result :

Spirits, 1,431,943 gallons cost	£121,004	= 1/8½ per gallon.
Duty at 3/- per gallon	214,719	
Freight and charges at 4d. per gallon ...	23,865	
Cost of spirits abroad.....	<u>359,660</u>	
Total Imports	980,325	
Deduct Spirits.....	<u>121,004</u>	
	859,321	
Duty at 10 per cent. ad Valorem	85,932	
Freight and charges at 15 per cent.	<u>128,898</u>	
Cost of other imports abroad	1,074,151	
Cost of spirits abroad.....	<u>359,660</u>	
	£1,433,811	
Proportion of Spirits to total imports, 25·08 per cent.		
Exports, declared value	£1,130,431	
Value of Spirits imported	<u>359,660</u>	
Proportion of exports paid for in Spirits, 31·82 per cent.		

As government imports are included in the total, and as no allowance is made for working expenses or profits, the chances are that at least 40 per cent. of the exports of produce are paid for in liquor. It seems a pity that we should frame the tariff of a British protectorate in such a way, that 40 per cent. of the exports are paid for in Dutch and German gin and rum.

So far, Nigeria is free from the trade in alcohol, solely, as I believe, because no one trading there has thought it right to import liquor of such excessive strength, but some one may begin any day, if preventive legislation is not introduced. Fifteen under proof, is, I understand the almost universal standard of strength at present, but as 3s. is the rate per gallon for proof spirits and no rebate is allowed for anything under proof there is an ever-present danger that importers may go as near to proof as possible, as he who supplies the strongest, which is, from the consumer's point of view, the best liquor, will naturally attract most customers. We should, I think, while increasing the duty for anything over proof, reduce it for anything under, or fix a standard of strength beyond which no importer may go.

We have seen that Lagos and Nigeria, on a coast line of 500 miles, took, in 1900, 943,113 and 1,431,943 gallons respectively, equal to a total of 2,375,056, or say 4,750 gallons per mile of coast line.

If we imagine this proportion as holding good over the remaining 2,500 miles of coast lying between Senegal and St. Paul de Loanda, we can have some idea of the enormous bulk of the trade.

I see from the time tables giving the sailings from Hamburg to West Africa, that during the present quarter—July to September—forty-five ocean going steamers leave, equal to one every two days, and as the round voyage takes them from three to four months, none of these steamers can appear twice on the tables. Some call at Rotterdam and some at Antwerp or Havre after leaving Hamburg. The aggregate registered tonnage of those 45 steamers is 95,000; there are besides two lines of steamers from French ports largely engaged in carrying liquor. I cannot speak with certainty as to what proportion of the cargo consists of liquor, but ten years ago when there were fewer

steamers, at least half the outward cargoes consisted of liquor, and I doubt if the proportion is any less now.

This shows how strong a hold liquor has obtained on the African and how difficult it will be to cope successfully with it.

It seems as if we deliberately encouraged a trade of which we universally disapprove.

We have first, as compared with civilised countries, a very low rate of duty. Second, a low rate of freight, gin and rum to Lagos pay 27*s.* 6*d.*, cottons pay 45*s.* Third, a body of merchants, who say, speaking generally, that it does not pay, yet who go on meeting the demand as it arises. The trade of any country or district which takes payment for almost half its exports in liquor, is not in a healthy state, and the citizen of that country is not likely to be a good customer for British goods, if he spends so much on foreign—that is, Dutch and German gin and rum. In this connection I may mention the case of one British port on the coast, where, I am assured by several old residents, 75 per cent. of the produce exported, of the yearly value of £30,000, is paid for in gin.

We now come to a consideration of the attitude of our Government, and of our merchants on this question.

In South Africa, the official position is that of uncompromising hostility, in which attitude they are backed up by a large section of the white non-official community. In West Africa, the low tariff would justify us in assuming the official attitude to be that of benevolent assistance, and except the missionary, there is no white community to represent locally the other side of the question.

Now the first duty of any Government, is to legislate for the advantage of the whole community, and not for that of any one class, and in uncivilised countries, where neither moral force nor representative Government exists, this is doubly necessary.

It is also the duty of Governments to legislate, not for one generation only, but to look ahead and consider the possible effects of present-day legislation upon succeeding generations; whether or not such legislation makes for what Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his *Principles of Western Civilisation*, calls "social efficiency."

In Chapter V of his book, Mr. Kidd says, "The development in progress in human society is over and above everything else, a process of progress towards higher social efficiency."

This cry for "efficiency" is heard in England every day and it occupies much of the speech and therefore of the thought of our statesmen.

In the United States we know that the consumption of absolute alcohol is not half what it is in the United Kingdom, and where is "efficiency" more obvious? We have been "shaking in our shoes" for the last two years for fear of this very American efficiency. Mr. Carnegie says that if Britain is to hold her own she must reduce her drink bill, and scores of writers on economics have said the same thing; if this is true of England, it is no less true of Africa, and yet we and other European nations have been and are actively assisting Africa to increase her drink bill.

No one can argue that the consumption of noxious spirits—I suppose we may call "absolute alcohol" a noxious spirit—tends to efficiency.

In England liquor is the most powerful force against efficiency, and if the problem is so full of difficulty here, with countless elevating agencies engaged in fighting the evil, what will be the position in Africa amongst races which have been for the most part steeped in barbarism for centuries and which are just coming into timorous and shrinking contact with civilisation?

We profess to be, and are unquestionably filled with a desire to benefit the negro, and to bestow upon him the advantages of Western civilisation, but we nullify our efforts by providing an ample supply of the most potent drawback to it.

For this violation of a fixed principle we shall sooner or later have to pay a heavy price; all experience shows that national blunders entail retribution just as much as individual blunders.

In South Africa they seem to have realised the importance of safeguarding the natives against liquor, after, I suppose ample proof of the danger. Why cannot we do the same in West Africa? Prevention is better and cheaper than cure, and as population increases, every year will add to our difficulty in dealing with the matter. If Yorubaland has three millions of

people to-day, she will have almost four a quarter of a century hence.

If, as I have shown, the coast tribes in Lagos and Southern Nigeria take 4,750 gallons per annum for every mile of seaboard, what will be the consumption when the Interior is opened up by railways and quick and economic transport provided?

I can imagine in the not distant future, a daily service of steamers from Rotterdam and Hamburg with the West African supply of liquor—or let us say, 200,000 tons of shipping, mainly engaged, so far as outward cargoes are concerned, in satisfying the black man's thirst for intoxicants.

We now come to the position of the merchant, who argues naturally enough that the extent of the trade and its evils are exaggerated; unfortunately, very few of the merchants have a personal acquaintance with West Africa, however wide and deep may be their general knowledge of it.

Also the average merchant is an opportunist, and acts upon the general principle of present day commerce, stated in the *Principles of Western Civilisation*, as follows:—

“Competition in industry has tended to become essentially a free struggle for gain divorced from all sense of responsibility.”

This “sense of responsibility” is necessary in human affairs, and if absent in our merchants, should be supplied by our Governments which stand between the governing and the governed races, and if they, for any temporary advantage overlook this principle, they cannot but prepare a heritage of difficulty for their successors.

We have a very clear presentment of the mind of the merchant in Blue Book C 8480, May 1897, where we have a record of the inquiries on the liquor trade in West Africa addressed by Mr. Chamberlain to the four principal Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom, viz., London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow.

In response to these inquiries, London and Liverpool expressed themselves as averse to an increase of duty on spirits except under international agreement, while Manchester and Glasgow advocated a gradual increase of the duty, if possible in concert with the other powers; that is, London and Liverpool were against a move unless Germany and France made one,

while Manchester and Glasgow would move, but in a cautious and tentative manner.

Now which of these policies is safest from a national point of view?

To elucidate this, we must consider the relative position of the chambers which, be it remembered, represent the merchants only; they do not represent native opinion, indeed there is practically no articulate native opinion.

London and Liverpool are concerned as carriers and distributors only, making their profits as such without regard to the origin of the goods carried or sold.

Manchester and Glasgow are something more; they are concerned equally with London and Liverpool as distributors, but as producers also, they must be expected to take a wider view of the question and consider it in its relation to British Trade as a whole, therefore from a national point of view, we naturally look upon their opinions, other things being equal, as the more valuable.

Another argument used by the merchant is that he must ship liquor, because without it he cannot compete successfully with his neighbour; and if he does refrain, the native is none the better, because his neighbour simply sells more. Also, if A ships 15° under proof, B responds with 5° under proof, to which A responds again with 5° over proof, and so on, until we get to absolute alcohol, beyond which not even a German chemist can go.

Liquor is a bad thing in Europe, and a worse in Africa, where no moral force exists as a counterpoise. If our policy of total prohibition is right in the Transvaal, our policy of unrestricted trade cannot be right on the West Coast.

From our merchants no reform can be expected, or is possible; the responsibility rests with the Government—will they not increase the duty, bearing in mind not only the interests of the present generation, but of others to follow—the interests of “the majority that never votes—that silent majority which is always in the future?”

THOMAS WELSH.

NOTES ON BASUTO-LAND

DURING the last few years attention has been much directed to Basutoland owing to its position, and the part which it will probably play in the future of South Africa. It also affords a unique instance of an African Race, advancing in civilization, under what is practically self-government, instead of becoming mere "hewers of wood, and drawers of water" to a white population. It is true, that the English Commissioners resident in the country exercise a controlling influence over the native chiefs, but this is wisely confined to the prevention of inter-tribal wars, and of the grosser forms of barbarity ; native laws, customs, and the authority of the chiefs being maintained, except where they run distinctly counter to progress and civilization.

This involves, of course, the exercise of the greatest tact and judgement, but success has hitherto crowned the efforts of our Commissioners in the country. Basutoland is bounded on the East by Natal, South by Cape Colony, and West and North by the Orange River Colony ; the Drakensberg Range dividing Natal and Cape Colony from Basutoland, while the Caledon River mainly forms the boundary between it and the Orange River Colony.

The country is practically a huge plateau, inhabited at the base only, and has been described as the "Switzerland" of South Africa ; but it differs in one respect from the "Switzerland" of Europe, for the latter is always accessible, while the Basuto mountains are snowed up all the winter, and the heavy rains make the tracks through them impracticable in the summer, the best months for crossing the country being September and October.

The country itself may be divided into three large valleys or districts, viz. the tract on the East between the Drakensberg Mountains and the Eastern range of the "Maluti" or Double

Hills ; that between the two ranges of the Malutis ; and that between the Eastern range of the Malutis and the Orange River Colony.

The area of Basutoland is about 10,000 square miles, and its average elevation about 5,000 feet above sea level. The population is roughly about 175,000, the most thickly populated part being on the Orange River Colony border.

The Basuto tribes, who were drawn together into a nation chiefly by the able old chief "Moses," on passing under British protection were at first administered by the Cape Colony, but the task proving a difficult one it was handed over to the Home Government.

The country is divided into three Magistracies, or districts, viz. Maseru with the Capital in the centre, Mafeteng in the South, and Leribe in the North.

A resident Commissioner is stationed at Maseru, who has Assistant Commissioners at various places ; while order is maintained by the Basutoland Mounted Police.

The people are divided into a number of tribes, under a paramount chief, Lerothodi by name. We had trouble about a month ago with Joel, a chief who helped the Boers during the late war, and he is now in gaol for a year, and has also to pay a fine of 500 head of cattle (£5,000). Joel has a brother named Jonathan, who has always been pro-English, and Lerothodi used to play one off against the other.

Although the surface of the country consists "chiefly of chasms and crags," it has been called the Granary of South Africa, as every available piece of ground is cultivated. On entering Basutoland from the Orange River Colony, one is much struck by the fertility of the valleys, and also by the difference in the formation of the hills ; Orange River Colony having flat-topped hills (taafel-kops), while in Basutoland one meets with pointed (spitz-kop) and craggy hills.

The expense of making good roads in such a hilly country would be prohibitive, and consequently mountain tracks are the only means of communication. Although the country is undoubtedly full of mineral wealth, the natives with much wisdom forbid all prospecting, for they fully realise that once mines are started the country is practically no longer theirs.

The white population is only about 400, chiefly storekeepers and their assistants.

There are several missions for converting the natives, of which nine-tenths are French Protestant.

The native himself is a most intelligent man, and capable of hard work ; though like all Africans, he leaves the home work, sowing, and ploughing, &c., to the woman ; the man generally going off to the Colonies to work, where having earned sufficient money he returns home, buys a wife, and settles down until the money is exhausted when he will go off again. The great ambition of every Basuto is to marry, and the more wives he has the more important he becomes. They have a curious method of arranging marriage settlements. The father has to pay the dowry for his son's wife, and if the son has a daughter the dowry for that daughter does not go to the father but to the grandfather.

As among all South African tribes, a man's wealth is estimated by the number of cattle he possesses, and all the property, a wife included, is valued at so many cows. The Basutos, however, practise agriculture to a greater extent than other Kaffir tribes ; so much so that the amount of ground under cultivation leaves little for grazing, and the stock has suffered accordingly. Their chief crops are mealies (maize) and Kaffir corn ; from the latter they brew a kind of beer of which they are very fond. It seems to be fattening, as those natives said to be addicted to it present a very corpulent appearance. Oats are also grown, which are given to the horses in the sheaf, *i.e.* unthrashed, this being the common South African custom. Wheat and other cereals do well, the rainfall being greater and more regular than in the Western parts of South Africa. The water-supply, the constant source of anxiety in these countries, never fails in Basutoland.

The natives are extremely superstitious. They have the same bad "sporting instincts" as are found in many Europeans, slaying every bird or beast seen. But the Basutos have at least the excuse of hunting for food. They have guns but are not good shots, and when in need of game about five hundred will surround a herd of deer and drive them over a precipice (kranz), picking up the bodies afterwards ; likewise if after quail, three

hundred or so will go out armed with sticks, and directly the quail rises the air is black with sticks.

The only living birds we saw in any numbers, were the heron and the hammakop ; we were unable to find out the superstition which prevented them killing the heron ; but they spare the hammakop (a kind of Bittern), because according to their belief the slayer of the bird will be killed by lightning. Although slovenly in his dress according to our ideas the Basuto is extremely fastidious ; for example, a storekeeper told us that one line more or less in the pattern on a blanket will make it, either worthless, or valuable. They have a very good idea of the value of money, and prefer hard cash to any article offered in barter.

The native women tattoo their faces, and also shave their heads, and those of their children. Their razor consists of a sharpened piece of "hoop-iron," and the yells of the children during the process of shaving can be heard for considerable distances.

The natives make tasteful bead work, wire work, and weapons, which are now largely bought by travellers as curios.

The worst class of native is the converted one, as is often the case ; they are generally very dishonest, and also very dirty.

As a rule the Basuto is a "hail fellow ! well met" person, greeting one on passing with an "Eya Morena" (Hail ! Lord), to which one replies "Eya." Basutoland has long been famous for its breed of ponies, which though small (seldom exceeding 14 hands) are strong and hardy, but the late war has drained the country of the best of them, and is also probably responsible for the outbreak of "scab" or "mange" (brand-sick) which is now universal. The Resident Commissioner told us that he was introducing Arab sires from India to improve the breed, an experiment which will no doubt be successful.

I have omitted to say a word about the climate of Basutoland, which is very healthy and invigorating, though doctors say that the rarefied air affects the heart and lungs of residents living there for long periods ; but the looks of those we saw belie the statement.

The towns through which we passed were Maseru, Tyatyaneng, Thlotsi, and Butha Buthe, all north of Maseru.

Maseru is situated on the Orange River Colony border, about 300 yards from the Caledon River, at the foot of the Maluti Hills. It is a very quaint little town, chiefly composed of brick and tin buildings and very few native huts, as the paramount chief does not live there, but resides at Matsieng about 20 miles south on the road to Mafeteng.

Tyatyaneng, Thlotsi, and Butha Buthe, are all very similar in appearance, being situated on the tops of hills. They were full of Mimosa trees which were in flower when we passed through, thereby giving them a most picturesque appearance.

Near Tyatyaneng are some old Bushmen Paintings, estimated at about 100 years old. The favourite subject is Bushmen hunting elands, and both drawing and colouring are excellent. One could hardly believe them to be the work of such wild and untameable people as the Bushmen were not the fact well attested.

All the towns are connected by telephone and telegraph, and have a Residency, though the Assistant Commissioner for Butha Buthe lives at Thlotsi, as both these towns are in the same district.

We left Basutoland very favourably impressed with the country and its inhabitants; and also with the success of its Administration.

A. T. DRYSDALE,
Lieut. R.A.

SANITARY INSTRUCTIONS

Issued by the Committee of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine for the Use and Observance of Agents of Firms, Companies, or Business Houses in Malarial Places.

A.—HOW MALARIAL FEVER IS CONTRACTED.

IT should be realised once for all that Malarial Fever is contracted **ONLY** from the bite of a Mosquito (the *Anopheles* variety) that carries fever germs in its poison secretion, and that the *Anopheles* Mosquito can get these germs **ONLY** by previously biting persons (Europeans or Natives suffering from fever, or young Native children apparently quite healthy) carrying the Malarial germs in their blood.

B.—HOW BLACKWATER FEVER IS CONTRACTED.

Blackwater Fever is also Malarial in its origin, and occurs **ONLY** in those who have suffered periodically from Malarial Fever. This is a most important reason, therefore, for doing all in your power to protect yourself from ordinary, even the mildest, attacks of Malarial Fever.

C.—COMPLETE PROTECTION IS POSSIBLE :

By following out the methods of protection given below.

1.—MOSQUITO NETS.

The Senior should satisfy himself that all the European employés of the firm invariably sleep within Mosquito Curtains of a mesh of not less than ten holes to the inch, and kept free from rents. Rents are most easily mended by twisting up the net at the point of breakage and tying round with a piece of String. The net should, when in use, be hung **INSIDE** the poles and tucked in **UNDER** the mattress. When not in use, the free sides of the net should be drawn together, twisted somewhat, and thrown across the top of the net. The net should not have a slit or join in the side. A Mosquito is **NEVER** found inside a properly used net. It is wise to tack on a piece of material all around the net, above the level of the mattress, so as to protect

the limbs from bites THROUGH the net during sleep. Mosquito boots to protect the ankles in the evenings may also be recommended.

2.—QUININE.

All the European employés of the firm should take at least fifteen grains of quinine per week, and should report in writing to the Senior that they are doing so.

3.—MOSQUITO PROOF ROOM.

The Senior should see that the quarters provided by the firm for their European employés possess at least one sitting room or portion of a verandah securely protected by screens of wire gauze against the entry of Mosquitoes. The room or portion of verandah selected for protection should be that which is commonly used by the inmates from sunset to bedtime.

4.—PUNKAHS.

The Senior should see that the office of the firm and the common dining room of the European employés are provided with Punkahs or Electric Fans, to be used during office hours and during meals respectively.

5.—DETAILS.

The Senior should see—

(i.) That the premises of the firm are provided with at least one rubbish bin (with a cover).

(ii.) That all cisterns, tanks, tubs, and other vessels required for the permanent storage of water are furnished with accurately fitting covers, and also with wire gauze caps to the pipes, for the purpose of excluding Mosquitoes.

(iii.) That all useless pits, pools, tanks, disused wells, and other unnecessary collections of water within the premises of the firm are filled up or drained away.

(iv.) That all open and permanent collections of water really required for irrigation, washing, or other purposes, are treated once a week with Kerosine Oil for the destruction of larvæ.

(v.) That the surface and rain water drainage of the premises is good, and that the drains and roof-pipes are in proper repair.

(vi.) That the latrines are in good condition and well kept.

(vii.) That the drinking water is obtained and stored in a cleanly manner.

(viii.) One of the servant boys might be employed searching for and destroying Mosquitoes in the house, and should receive special instruction in the same, which will be arranged, if necessary, by the Sanitary Authority.

6.—WEEKLY INSPECTION.

Once a week the Senior should make a detailed sanitary survey of all the premises of the firm, including offices, factories, dwelling houses, sleeping rooms, cook rooms, servants' quarters, lavatories, and latrines, and also all gardens, yards, and stables, and should see that the instructions given above are being punctiliously attended to, especially :—

- (i.) That employes use mosquito nets.
- (ii.) That all rubbish, broken bottles, old tins and pots, etc., are kept in the rubbish bin.
- (iii.) That no stagnant water is allowed anywhere within the premises unless in vessels adequately protected with wire gauze or in cisterns or wells which are treated weekly with oil.
- (iv.) That every part of the premises is in an absolutely clean condition.
- (v.) It is suggested that it would be useful that a record of all cases of fever occurring among the employes should be carefully kept.

7.—NATIVES.

The Senior should endeavour to apply these rules as much to native employes as to Europeans.

8.—GENERAL.

If the premises of the firm are surrounded by areas which the Senior considers to be insanitary ; if dirty streets, houses, yards, and waste grounds, or rank and useless vegetation, or useless collections of stagnant water, are allowed to exist in the vicinity of the premises of the firm, the Senior should report the matter once a month to the local Sanitary or Medical Authority until the evil is remedied, and should send a copy of his report to the head of the firm at home.

9.

If the Senior requires further instructions regarding the carrying out of any of the orders and suggestions given above, he should apply either to the local Sanitary or Medical Authority or to the medical practitioner entrusted with the care of the employes of the firm, or, failing these, to headquarters at home.

10.

If he thinks that it will be impossible to give effect to any of these instructions, he should describe in the space opposite the particular instructions referred to, the difficulties he finds in applying them in his own case.

LITERARY NOTES

Affairs of West Africa, by Edmund D. Morel ("E. D. M.")
Demy 8vo, cloth, with 32 plates and maps, 12s. (London :
William Heinemann, 21, Bedford Street, W.C.)

MR. MOREL claims to approach the subject of West Africa as an independent critic and he certainly deals with his subject with some originality.

Much valuable information has been collected and embodied in this work and the book on the whole is interesting reading. The attempt to compile and tabulate statistics of the trade of Kano is a novelty amongst recent works upon West Africa. The historical portion of the book is of great interest, and raises points which will be keenly discussed as to the origin and relationships of Sudan peoples. By a close study of the tales of travellers, and all available literature on West Africa, Mr. Morel has acquired considerable local colour, and his book shows throughout the deep interest with which he approaches African problems.

The very number of these problems constitutes the difficulty of framing a complete or perfectly coherent book on West Africa. Mr. Morel tacitly admits the difficulty, and meets it by giving a number of more or less detached studies, which he does not attempt to link together in any very systematic way. He takes up as they come questions of trade, history, origins, administration, taxation, native life, and so on. On many of these most controverted subjects opinions must differ. For example, it may be questioned if he is correct in stating that the West African trader provides the revenues of the Colonies, although it might possibly be urged that the merchant in trading for his own profit incidentally acts as a collector of revenue.

It must be remembered, however, that definite information on many subjects brought before us in this book is as yet so scanty that for a long time to come no attempt can be made to sum up all the factors of the African problem and give an adequate survey of the situation. The materials for such a final survey are lacking. In the meantime we are grateful to a writer who will draw together scattered information, gathering in much that is not easy of general access, who will place some of the problems before us with intelligence and skill, and who will set us thinking. This last part of his work Mr. Morel has done by frankly telling us what he thinks himself. The method requires audacity, but Mr. Morel has the courage of his opinions. It is evident that the administration of West Africa is the subject which above all interests him, and the principal feature of his book is an attack on the Crown Colony system, culminating in a recommendation that the Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies should be abolished.

The African Society remains always an impartial and neutral observer, and in reviewing this book it leaves the reader to form his own opinions. The subject and its treatment must excite opposition. Mr. Morel certainly did not enter on a controversy of this kind without expecting to encounter severe criticism and to receive some hard blows. He will no doubt welcome all discussion that tends to manifest the truth and to enlighten the public intelligence. Meanwhile we note with sincere pleasure one fact of great importance. The appearance of this book and the amount of attention which it immediately attracted, is a welcome evidence of the increasing interest taken by Englishmen in the fortunes of England's vast dominions in Africa.

British Nigeria: a Geographical and Historical Description of the British Possessions adjacent to the River Niger, West Africa, by Lieut.-Col. A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., Barrister-at-Law. With map, illustrations, and appendix. (Cassell & Co., Limited, London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne.)

THIS work is a worthy supplement to the Author's "British West Africa" and is the most comprehensive book hitherto

published dealing with Nigeria. The Author rightly considers that the establishment of Colonial Office Administration in place of the Royal Niger Company forms a fitting opportunity for the publication of a work dealing with Nigeria from all points of view.

The book is of great value historically as a collation of the isolated records contained in accounts of special expeditions and in less pretentious works. The Author deals with the history of Nigeria from the earliest times to the present, in fact well into the year 1902. Some subjects have been dealt with elsewhere, for example, in this Society's Journal, and the Author, if not throwing any very new light upon the problems of Nigeria, has, at any rate, recorded diverse opinions in such a manner as to form a most useful book of reference for the Student of West Africa. A good index adds to its value in this respect. We are also very pleased to note that the great work originated by Macgregor Laird in practically demonstrating the trade capacities of the Great River, his patient persistence, his sacrifices of health and money, have been here recorded and duly appreciated.

The book is written in a bright and interesting manner and is difficult to lay down when once taken up. It has, however, one fault, and that is the frequency of foot notes which might well have been incorporated in the text. These, unless ignored, are to some extent irritating. The Map at the beginning of the book is fairly clear, but it is not so good as it might have been, since it is really necessary to keep it open the whole time if the Author is to be closely followed.

Civilization in Congoland: a Story of International Wrong-doing,
by H. R. Fox Bourne, with a Prefatory Note by the Right
Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart. M.P. (London: P. S.
King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster. 1903.)

THE sole design of this work as described by the author is to place in a clear and truthful light the initial and fundamental faults in the methods of rule in Congoland, as well as the monstrous abuses which are the inevitable outcome of those faults. A mass of material is brought together from which the reader may form a judgment on this great question. The facts

and history of the Congo Free State are set forth clearly and without bias, and by the aid of an admirable map which accompanies the work a fair and just idea may be obtained of the course of development of the so-called "Free" State, and of the abuses which it is alleged have gradually crept into the machinery of government, and which have brought about a condition of affairs urgently calling for redress at the hands of the European Governments who are responsible for the creation of the State.

Sir Charles Dilke concludes his prefatory note to this volume with these pregnant words :

"One of the greatest difficulties of ourselves and of the French in Africa has been the extension outside of Congo boundaries of the effect produced by the cruelties and consequent insurrections which have prevailed within the Congo valley."

"Our responsibility," he alleges, "is such that, if knowing what we do we fail to denounce the crime, we become participators in it."

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- *CARPENTER, The Rev. J. Estlin, 109, Banbury Road, Oxford.

- 1902 CASEMENT, Roger, H.M. Consul to the Congo Independent State and the French Congo, c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 45, Pall Mall.
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1903

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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

NO. VII. APRIL

1903

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

THE PROVINCE OF KABBA, NORTHERN NIGERIA

Introductory—Sources of Information—Natural Features—Population—Industries—Trade—Native Governments—Law—Religion—The White Man.

Introductory.—The Province of Kabba, in the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, lies in the angle made by the river Niger where it bends southward for the last time, and has an outline roughly resembling that of a haystack or a tin-loaf. It is bounded on the north and east by the Niger ; on the west by a straight line drawn from the mouth of the Kaduna to the Southern Nigerian town of Owo ; and on the south by a similar line drawn from Owo to Idah on the river. The province measures roughly 100 miles each way, and its area may there-

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fore be guessed at 10,000 square miles, or about one third of Ireland.

Lokoja, the provincial capital, and the principal White Man's town in the Protectorate, is situated (like Dublin) on the eastern boundary, midway between north and south. It faces the confluence of the great tributary of the Niger, the Benue, or Binwé, itself the second river of the Sudan. Kabba, the town from which the province has been named, lies nearly in the middle. To the north-west, on the riverside, is the important town of Egga.

Lokoja has been a missionary and trading centre for about half a century. Egga has also been under European influences for many years. But the interior of the province has been little visited. Journeys have been made along the western and southern boundary lines. A fort with a detachment of fifty Black troops has been stationed at Kabba, and the road between that place and Lokoja has therefore been frequently traversed. Journeys and expeditions have been made from time to time from Kabba in a south-westerly direction towards Owo and Lagos. The northern half of the province is almost a blank on the map, and the map of the southern half is sketchy and misleading.

The province formed the southern limit of the empire of Sokoto, or, to speak more correctly, of the region subject to Fulani slave-raids. The district north of Kabba was effectually subdued, and brought under Mohammedan influence, while that to the south was scarcely touched. As a result of these historical conditions the upper district is peaceful, and the White Man is looked upon with some friendship as a deliverer, while the lower part of the province is quite savage, and the White Man is viewed as an intruder and an enemy, and frequently resisted.

Sources of Information.—Allusions to Lokoja or Egga are to be found in missionary works, and books of travel, and the history of Sir George T. Goldie's expedition against Bida contains references to the town of Kabba. I have further had the advantage of reading the Report of a tour by my predecessor Captain Sharpe, C. M. G., which extended from Lokoja through Kabba to Owo, thence to Idah, and back to Kabba.

I myself spent four months in the province as Resident, at the end of which brief period I was invalided out of the Nigerian service. The first three months I passed in Lokoja, and I then made a three weeks' tour, first to Kabba, and then round an irregular loop described within the triangle drawn on the map of the province by Captain Sharpe. In the course of this tour I passed through some thirty towns and villages, some of them not previously visited by a European.

My main objects in this journey were to investigate complaints, redress grievances, restore and confirm the crumbling authority of the chiefs, encourage road-making and agriculture, and put down the murders and highway robberies which rendered the province unsafe for travellers. Although anxious to acquire as much information as possible, I was necessarily obliged to approach the natives in the character of a judge and ruler, rather than in that of a scientific inquirer; and I take this opportunity of saying that in dealing with African natives I consider it is not always wise nor practicable to play both parts at once. Scientific curiosity is likely to be misunderstood by savages, and to provoke either contempt or resentment. And too great a show of respect for native institutions may easily pass into an abdication of authority, and an encouragement to such institutions as brigandage and human sacrifice.

By way of further apology for the slight and fragmentary character of these notes, I may add that I had had no previous experience of Africa, or of uncivilised races, and that I was very far from being a trained observer. The very great pressure of official work left me no time for independent study, and the sudden break-down of my health necessitated my departure before I had time to put what little information I had acquired into order.

In my communications with the natives I was throughout dependent on Black interpreters. In the town of Lokoja alone there are at least half a dozen languages in common use, the principal being Nupe, Hausa, and Yoruba; and in the interior there is a different dialect spoken in almost every town. It was consequently necessary as a rule to employ two interpreters; and I had the painful experience in one place of

trying a man for his life, with a chain of three interpreters interposed between the prisoner and myself. My regular interpreter was unfortunately a Christian, and consequently not a trustworthy guide where native beliefs were concerned.

Natural Features.—The Province of Kabba is situated well above the delta of the Niger, the Benin country coming between it and the sea coast. It is for the most part hilly, a condition which may seem to account for the bend taken by the river. The hills do not take the formation of regular ranges, but of irregular groups and peaks, though here and there the road led through a pass between two hill ridges. In the south-east corner the hills are more closely massed than elsewhere, forming the Egbara highlands. In the central region it is common to encounter a solitary hill rock, rising like an island from the characteristic low flat plain of Africa. I did not come across any summit of a greater elevation than about two thousand feet, so far as I could judge.

The hills are rocky, in striking contrast to the black alluvial soil of the plains, suggesting that they may at some remote period have been islands at the mouth of the great river, which deposited its sediment over the intervening spaces. The name of one hill village, the houses of which are wedged in crevices of the rock, is Chokku-chokku, *i.e.*, Rocky-rocky, apparently the native way of saying Very-rocky. In some places the hills terminate in steep faces of naked rock, suggestive of sea-washed cliffs.

I regret that I cannot say anything as to the character of the rock itself. The native word for the isolated peaks, which are the most striking feature of the province, was translated "stone" by my interpreter, and the word was a most appropriate one. Many of these "stones" are most impressive, and well worth a journey to see. The Stone of Ieri, a day's march south of Kabba, rises like a gigantic tombstone behind the town. Still grander is the superb Stone of Semarika. Seen across the plain this mountain assumes the aspect of a single enormous boulder, half a mile or a mile long at the base, and a couple of thousand feet high, in the shape of a dromedary crouching on the earth, bearing two giant humps on its back. Apart from the memory of a rather exciting morning spent on the top, the

natural grandeur of this majestic rock was sufficient to make an indelible impression on my mind.

Further south is an interesting group known by the name of Itua or Etwa—these different spellings represent pronunciations differing according to the race and dialect of the speaker. This group seemed to be composed in a circle of hills surrounding a basin from which rose a central peak, the whole formation thus resembling the crater of a volcano.

I deeply regretted that my knowledge of geology did not enable me to decide whether I was in the presence of basaltic or limestone or other strata. In some places I picked up fragments of brilliant white quartz, which I examined vainly for traces of ore.

On the top of the rock hill of Okpé, near the southern border, I came upon a pond swarming with turtle, which measured from six to twelve inches. On the same hill I picked up two brown shells, roughly resembling whelks, but more than twice as large.

The vegetation on the plains differs greatly from that found on the higher levels, consisting almost entirely of coarse grass and an endless perspective of stunted trees, without undergrowth, averaging about fifteen feet in height. These trees seem useful only for fuel, the rubber and shea butter-tree being rarely met with. The bamboo palm grows freely along the fairly numerous watercourses, but not elsewhere. Cocoa palms I met with only on one spot, in the neighbourhood of Eshua Market.

Among the hills are real woods, with many varieties of timber, including some noble specimens of the cottonwood tree. These woodlands bear a striking resemblance to those of our own country; and more than once, in riding through the district south of Kabba, I could have fancied myself in an English lane.

The kola tree, whose nuts are so highly prized as a tonic and aphrodisiac by the natives of Africa, grows freely near Eshua, but I was informed that the fruit was inferior in quality. A few miles to the east of Kabba I rode through an extensive wood literally carpeted with wild pineapples. Other fruits easily obtainable are the lime, the banana, and the pawpaw, a species of melon. In the village of Chokku-chokku I came upon an orange tree.

The grounds of my own Residency were planted with fine

specimens of the frangipani and other blossoming trees. But throughout the interior, I was struck by the almost complete absence of flowers. An exception was furnished by a plant which I found growing freely by the wayside near Arikpa, on the road from Lokoja to Kabba. This plant grows from a bulb; its blossom is white, and rather larger than a crocus. It presents the form of a perfect hexagonal cup, from the angles of which petals continue rising in an open crown. I thought it strikingly beautiful, and secured some bulbs for the Residency garden. The catastrophe of my illness prevented me from bringing any specimens home to [England, but I feel no doubt that this flower will one day be known and highly prized by English growers.

Wild animals are not abundant in the province, which can hardly be considered a good sporting country. Elephants are said to have been seen near Lokoja some years ago, but are now never heard of. The hippopotamus is by no means plentiful even in the Niger. The alligator or crocodile is common enough in that river, and also in the Shiré, a considerable river flowing through the south of the province. The leopard is also to be found in fair numbers almost everywhere, the skin of this beast being one of the gifts offered by the chiefs. In Igarra I saw fans mounted with leopard skin. The leopard is said to be a more difficult and dangerous quarry than the tiger of India, being at once more uncertain in its habits, and more active in its movements. The best way to secure one is to tether a goat in the open bush, and to wait at night behind an abattis for the appearance of the leopard. But the hunter must keep on the alert, as the leopard comes and goes in one swift spring. Hyænas are frequently reported within the bounds of the Cantonment at Lokoja.

During my tour I only once encountered a herd of antelope. They are occasionally shot near Arikpa by sporting parties. The Guinea fowl is the chief game bird of this region, but it is by no means plentiful. Doves are common. I shot one specimen of a small carrion vulture, called a shag. In the trees round my Residency I used to see some very pretty small birds, one having bright blue plumage, like our English kingfisher, while another was tipped with scarlet.

I only saw one snake during my stay, and picked up one dead scorpion. But green and brown lizards swarmed up and down the walls of the Residency, where they were welcomed as destroyers of the dreaded mosquito.

Butterflies abounded in the wooded districts, especially in the neighbourhood of Kabba town. Some of them were gloriously coloured, the handsomest variety having wings which, as they glanced in the sunlight, changed from copper to steel-blue. I secured a few specimens, but was without the means to preserve them properly. An entomologist might look forward to rich results in this region.

The presence of the *anopheles* is only too notorious.

Population.—I apply the old name of Black Moors to the inhabitants of Nigeria generally, as a literary *modus loquendi*, till science has pronounced on the ethnological affinities of the various races. In the Province of Kabba, there are few Hausas, and only a sprinkling of Yorubas. The tribes in and around the town of Kabba are known as Bunnus. To the south of them come the formidable Kukurukus, and the equally fierce Egbiras occupy the district southward from Lokoja. But, as in ancient Canaan, there are a number of smaller tribes, speaking dialects of their own. The inhabitants of the hill stronghold of Semarika, for instance, appeared to possess a language quite distinct from any of the surrounding peoples.

Speaking generally, the inhabitants of the province seemed to me to be decidedly marked off from the woolly-haired Negro, though they were equally black in complexion. The Roman anthropologist, Sergi, who has found his race of Mediterranean longheads as far north as Scandinavia, would, I am convinced, equally find it represented as far south as the Niger. In a photograph which I possess of a group consisting of the Serikin of Lokoja and his principal followers, supposed to be Hausas, the faces seem, many of them, of a markedly North African type, while one or two, apart from the complexion, would excite no remark if met with in an English village.

Lokoja is an exceptional town, the population being very mixed. It forms, as it were, the meeting-place between the Sudan and the Coast, the semi-civilised Mohammedan and the savage pagan, the Niger valley being the natural boundary

between Islam and cannibalism. In Lokoja the Hausas form the aristocracy, but the Nupes are perhaps the most numerous. There is also a special quarter inhabited by a river tribe of canoemen, who own allegiance to a chief at Pataji, two hundred miles higher up the river.

To the north of Kabba the population is almost unknown. The name of Ganegas, bestowed on them in the official map, is, I believe, a mere nickname, signifying that they declined to accept the religion of Islam. This part of the country being peaceful and well-disposed, it will not be likely to come under observation till the more troublesome regions have been reduced to order. The town of Egga has been mentioned already as a White Man's centre. It is fairly civilised, and is in most respects ahead of Lokoja. It probably contains more Hausas than the latter town.

The total population of the province may be estimated at a quarter of a million. It must have exceeded that figure in the past, having been decimated for generations, first by the Christian slave-trader, and subsequently by his Mohammedan fellow. The remains of ancient cultivation are still to be met with in the extensive plain lands.

The result of the slave-raids has been to drive the population across the Niger to the east, or to cause them to take refuge on the summits of the hills, some of which are exceedingly difficult of access. In some cases the villages are quite concealed from the view of a passing traveller, the houses being artfully blended with the natural features of the rocks. In others the cultivated fields are hidden behind a belt of wood. Again, many villages lie entirely away from the road, a circumstance which has given rise to the markets noticed under a subsequent heading (*Industries*).

Along the road between Lokoja and Kabba, the natives are beginning to establish farms in the open country, relying on the protection of the White Man. The inhabitants of Arikpa have moved down from their hill, and built a new village at the foot. The Egbiras are returning from the other side of the river. During my tour I lost no opportunity of encouraging the natives to spread over the land and cultivate it; and perhaps the best encouragement was the arrest and punishment of some of the

robbers and manslayers who had long terrorised the countryside.

Most of the towns of any size are more or less fortified. Where the town occupies the summit of a rock hill, like Okpé, it is protected by a wall of loose stones, the so-called Cyclopean masonry. A precisely similar wall may be seen outside Karavasseras, a Greek town on the Gulf of Arta. A town on the plain is surrounded by a wall of unbaked red clay, which sometimes extends very widely, including a great deal of the cultivated soil. In other places the wall is tightly drawn round the town, the houses being closely packed inside. Where the town is situated in a glen, the wall may be merely a barrier drawn across the mouth of the pass, and protected by a ditch, as at Egpemmi. Another town, situated in the heart of a dense woodland, was approached by a network of raised causeways, blocked by gates and ditches.

A common feature is a small, secondary village forming a species of antechamber to the main town. This village will usually lie immediately inside the gate of the outermost wall. This gate is sometimes an elaborate affair, being practically a roofed hall, open on the side facing the village. The biblical allusions to judges and elders sitting in the gate can be easily understood in Kabba.

Nor is that the only point of resemblance between the province and the Canaan described in the Book of Judges. There is the curious mixture of tribes, among whom the racial bond is kept up, quite apart from the question of topographical distribution. There is the city set upon a hill, stubbornly maintaining its independence long after the plain country has been subdued. The strong chief acquires territory, like David, and his weak descendant loses it, like Rehoboam. There is the formidable war-chief, like Joab, secretly feared by the anointed king. There is the mysterious juju shrine, to which the common people are forbidden to penetrate; and the horns of the altar are not a mere convention.

Generally the rule holds good that the hill tribes prey upon the tribes of the plain, the highlanders upon the lowlanders. The people of Semarika, from their almost inaccessible eyrie, plundered and slew as they pleased, inspiring among their

neighbours an almost superstitious dread. I was obliged to warn them that unless they mended their ways, I should treat them as Nebuchadnezzar did the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and deport them to another part of the province. But I should have been sorry to carry out the threat, for Semarika is, in my opinion, the most interesting spot in the whole of Kabba. The cool air on the summit, and the magnificent scenery, would render it a fine station for a European.

Industries.—The leading industry of the Province of Kabba is agriculture. The objects of cultivation include the yam or sweet potato; guinea corn, the great staple of the Nigerian population; the cassava; the native cotton, which is shorter in the boll than the best American varieties; and a plant which yields a dye resembling indigo, the most common colour in use among the natives. I do not recollect seeing tobacco under cultivation, but I saw some wild plants which I was informed were tobacco; and the herb is in use in a rough state.

The labour expended on the growing of the yam is amazing, each plant being separately thatched over as it emerges from its tiny hillock, to protect it from the birds. In many places the fields are surrounded by prickly fences as a protection from wild animals. I distributed some imported cotton seed during my tour, which the natives received with the utmost eagerness. But I believe it is doubtful whether this foreign cotton will flourish as well as the native variety, which grows wild in the province. Better results, I should imagine, are likely to be secured by paying attention to the improvement of the indigenous plant.

I may quote here the testimony of the head of an industrial mission despatched to Nigeria from Toronto, with the aim of teaching the natives improved methods of cultivation. After an expedition as far as Kabba, this gentleman, on his return to Lokoja, confessed himself astonished by what he had seen of the natives as agriculturists, even going so far as to say that he had nothing to teach them.

They are, however, without machinery, their ploughs and other implements being of the most rudimentary kind. In course of time a demand will, no doubt, arise for European machines.

The province is very badly off for domestic animals, the only ones found in most places being goats and fowls, both very small and poor. Caravans from the north bring in a certain number of the fine Sudanese sheep to Lokoja, but I met with few or none in the interior. Cows are seldom seen in Lokoja itself, those that find their way there being a rather pretty grey species. The only other place in which I found cows was Egpemmi, where there is a considerable herd owned in common by the townspeople. They are black and white, and not much larger than Tripoli goats. Horses are almost equally scarce, apparently on account of the poverty of the inhabitants, a horse costing anything from £5 upwards, while the price of a goat is only two shillings, and that of a fowl, outside Lokoja, a few pence.

The roads of the province are single foot-tracks, as elsewhere in Africa, along which it is necessary to proceed in Indian file. These paths wind excessively, making ten miles on the map equal to fifteen of actual marching. In many places these paths are badly in need of repair, having worn down into deep ruts, in which it is fatiguing to tread. Some road-mending is done by the passing traders who go to and fro between the more important places, but I endeavoured to cast this duty on the chiefs.

The native trade is carried on entirely by pedlars who traverse the country, usually in small companies of from three to twenty persons. Everything is carried on the head. Formerly slaves were largely employed, it being the custom to sell off each slave as soon as his load was disposed of along the way. But this harsher form of slavery is dying out under the influence of the White Man's disapproval. The Hausas make the best carriers, and are the most successful merchants, this being as much their vocation as riverwork is of the Nupes.

The amount of ground covered by these carriers is very great, but they are accustomed to march in their own way, at their own speed, resting when they feel tired, and going on as they feel inclined. Consequently they suffer a good deal when required to keep to the regular march of a military expedition. As they are not always very considerately treated by the officers, they dread this work greatly, and cannot be induced to under-

take it willingly even by considerably higher pay. It is therefore necessary sometimes to impress them for the service, the most thankless and unpleasant part of a resident's duties being to provide the military authorities with carriers. So deep-seated is the feeling in Lokoja, that when I went on tour, although I refused to take a single pressed man myself, and obtained as many volunteers as I required, I was obliged to authorise force in order to obtain carriers for the officer commanding my escort. (I should add that there was no prejudice against the officer personally, he being in fact a new arrival.) This trouble may be expected to disappear with the need for military expeditions.

The principal trade route of the province is from Lokoja through Kabba to Lagos. The Hausa merchants being as a rule Mohammedans, it is a common thing to see in the midst of a pagan town a small praying-court, marked out with stones, and strewn with the fine sand of the Sahara. This sand is a most interesting feature, for, as is well known, the Koran enjoins ablutions with water, for which the sand is merely a ceremonial substitute, authorised in the desert on account of the scarcity of water. Water is easily procurable in most of the towns of Kabba, while the sand is a foreign product, and must have been brought from a considerable distance. But the Hausa has been evangelised from the Sahara, he has learned to associate sand with the precepts of the Prophet, and he continues to use it as the means of salvation. Hence these little patches of the Great Desert strung like beads for hundreds of miles across the heart of the Kabba greenery.

A characteristic feature of the province is the markets. These are clearings beside the highway, to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring village or villages resort to barter with the travelling merchants or traders from elsewhere. The market is, as it were, the signal from the town hidden in the bush to the outer world. Some of these market-places are most picturesque. Eshua market, thirty or forty miles south of Kabba, is situated in the heart of a wooded hollow, shaded by lofty trees. Great natural slabs of stone form primitive stalls on which the goods for sale may be exposed. The place was deserted when I passed, and might almost have been mistaken for some Druid shrine.

Trade.—I have already mentioned that the principal trade route of the province is one passing from Lokoja right across Kabba and the Colony of Lagos, to the coast. Along this route I have met as many as two hundred carriers in a day. If we put the distance from Lokoja to the port of Lagos at twenty-five days' journey, and reckon the same number of men for each stage, this will give a total of 5,000 carriers engaged in the overland traffic between the two places. Such a number is astonishing in view of the fact that the Niger Company has a service of steamers on the river, which perform the trip between Lokoja and Forcados in from two to four days, while the voyage from Forcados to Lagos is only a matter of hours.

A West African merchant has recently devoted his valuable time and great ability to criticising the colonial administration in that part of the empire, the main count in his indictment being the neglect of the colonial authorities to avail themselves freely enough of the advice and assistance of the traders on the coast. It is interesting to compare this criticism with the complaints, which have been pouring in for years from British Consuls in all parts of the world, of the supineness and haughty indifference of the British merchant, whose neglect to study his native customers is steadily driving trade into the hands of foreign rivals. It would be a matter for grave regret if the West African trader, in his zeal for better administration, allowed himself to become so far absorbed in the task of advising the Government, as to allow his own business to suffer.

Unfortunately British trade with Nigeria is still a monopoly in the hands of the Niger Company, a monopoly which no competing firm can hope to break down at present, unless it is prepared to place its own service of steamboats on the Niger. It is therefore difficult for me to venture any observations on the subject of our trade with this region without appearing to glance at the Niger Company, a company whose past services to the empire entitle it to very great consideration, and for whose present agents I have the highest possible respect and esteem. I can only plead the necessity of the case; and perhaps it will be a further extenuation in the eyes of the writer just referred to if I remind him that the Niger Company was till quite recently invested with all, and more than all,

the powers now exercised by the Colonial Office and its servants.

It is not easy for men who have been for years in the habit of exercising despotic and uncontrolled power, to step down into the rank of ordinary subjects ; and therefore very great allowance ought, in my opinion, to be made for the somewhat hostile and acrimonious attitude taken up by some of the Company's representatives towards the Government by which they have been superseded. A certain amount of friction and ill-feeling is inevitable, and more than once, while at Lokoja, I found myself in the position of a buffer between contending parties, Government Departments, and even Native Chiefs calling on me to take drastic measures against the agents of the Company, while the agents complained of were sternly rebuking me for not considering their interests and convenience more than I did.

Lokoja is pointed out by its natural situation as the chief trading centre of the Niger valley, and in short of the whole Western Sudan. It is at Lokoja that the two great waterways of the Niger and the Binwé meet and flow southward to the Gulf of Guinea, the distance to the Forcados mouth being about two hundred miles. Lokoja is in a direct line between the sea and Kano, and is therefore pointed out as the port of that great market, which not only carries on extensive manufactures of its own, but has long been the chief distributing centre of the Sudan, and the rendezvous of caravans from all parts of North Africa. The present port of Kano is Tripoli, to reach which the caravans have to cross the Great Desert, a distance of 1,500 miles as the crow flies.

It is inconceivable that such a route can hold its own for long against the advantages offered by the Lokoja-Forcados route. At the present time a railway is being pushed up from Lagos, across the Niger to Kano, but a line from Kano to Lokoja seems likely to be more profitable in the end. Struck by the great natural opportunities presented by Lokoja, I was surprised to find that exceedingly few caravans seemed to come into the town. I made it my business to seek out and interview the *madugas*, or caravan-leaders, who hailed from Zaria and Kano, and to inquire into the matter. As far as I could gather there

were three obstacles to a greater trade. The first of these was the objection felt on religious grounds to a White Man's town, ruled by a renegade and a usurper, and not possessing a mosque. The second was the trouble caused by robber chiefs along the road, particularly at Abuja. The third, and perhaps the most important, was the attitude of the Niger Company.

The first of these difficulties I had little trouble in dealing with. I removed the old scoundrel Abbiga, and replaced him by the rightful heir of the last king, a Mohammedan, a step which at once resulted in an embassy of congratulation from Kano. I took every opportunity of assuring the *madugas* and the natives generally that we had no wish to interfere with their religion, and I encouraged and assisted the people of the town to build a mosque, which was just completed when I left. I also began to lay out a caravanserai. I communicated with the High Commissioner, Sir Frederick Lugard, on the subject of the highway robberies, and his Excellency arranged to send an expedition to clear the roads and to deal with Abuja.

Such were the steps taken by the servants of the Colonial Office in promotion of trade. They were quickly responded to by native traders, several of whom transferred their headquarters from Lagos to Lokoja while I was there. But I was unable to perceive that they commended themselves in the least to the British trading company on whose behalf I was working. The Niger Company appeared to regard the arrival of caravans as a matter of indifference, and to be disinclined to go out of its way to conciliate these prospective customers, or to cater for their requirements. A demand sprang up for galvanised iron roofing, to replace the native thatch, but the natives told me it would be necessary for them to send to Lagos for it. A similar demand existed for gunpowder, of the kind known as trade powder, which the natives are permitted to have, but this powder was also unobtainable from the British company, and I found the natives smuggling it up the river on Government steamers.

The Province of Kabba does not yield those valuable articles of trade which originally attracted Europeans to the coast. Slaves are now contraband, and ivory, rubber, and palm oil are not to be obtained in any considerable quantity. But as the province settles down, and becomes more populous, there must

be an opening for a trade of some kind, whether in cotton or other produce, and a corresponding demand for British manufactures. But to develop this commerce and make it profitable, patience and attention to native wants will be required. If the British merchant neglects his obvious interest, to occupy himself with complaints and criticisms against hard worked Government officials, then French and native traders will step in and supplant him, as they are already doing at Gambia, Sierra Leone and elsewhere along the coast.

Native Governments.—The typical government is by two kings, a head king, styled Serikin, Echu, or some equivalent word, and the second king, styled Dauda or Echumazza, who is at once deputy, prime minister, and heir of the first. There can be no doubt that we have here a survival of a system which once prevailed over a large part of the world, and has left very many traces in history. Every student will at once recall the classic case of Sparta, and the medieval custom of crowning the sons of kings and emperors in the lifetime of their fathers.

In Kabba the under-study is not usually the son of the head king, the institution admitting of many variations. Thus the Serikin of Lokoja whom I appointed nominated his brother, a boy of ten or twelve, to the position of Dauda. In the town of Kabba I found the king's son recognised as the heir. In Egpemmi and some smaller places, the office of second king was vacant. At Okpé the king, a young man, appeared to have succeeded straight to his father, while the rank of second king was retained by the chief of a smaller place at the foot of the hill—the outpost village—an arrangement obviously dictated by local circumstances. Again at Itua the head king was placed in the central town, and acted as suzerain over a dozen minor kings of the surrounding villages. In Semarika I found a young man installed as king, without any deputy, the real power being wielded by the Balogun or captain of the host. At Okéle, on the other hand, I raised a personage described to me as the "third chief" to the rank of second king, and on the death, shortly afterwards, of the aged first king, my nominee stepped into his place without opposition.

The captain of the host, styled Miaki or Balogun, is always the chief subject, and often does more of the actual work of

ruling than the king. Perhaps because he is selected for merit, I generally found him a man of ability.

In Lokoja I found nothing corresponding to a priesthood. The Mohammedan mallam, or scribe, is the lawyer and school-master. In the pagan interior the king appears to be still *rex sacrificulus*.

The name king, serikin, etc., is freely applied to the headmen of tribes, and the heads of trade guilds. Thus in Lokoja, besides the two kings of the town, there were kings of the Yorubas, Nupes and other tribes, a king of the hunters and a king of the canoes. The king of the Nupes abdicated, much to my regret, on the ground that he had lost his authority over his people, an inevitable consequence, it may be thought, of the White Man's administration. He took service with me as a courier, and I found his rank gave him a good deal of prestige with the chiefs in the interior.

I have already referred to the crumbling of the authority of the chiefs. This is due partly, I have no doubt, to the reports which come up from Lagos, where the natives have been rashly admitted to the position of British citizens. On arriving at Lokoja I found the Provincial Court thronged with appellants who came to take out summonses against their chiefs. Thus, where a chief had decided a case between two of his people, and awarded the property in dispute to one of them, the defeated litigant came to the Resident, and indicted the chief, together with the successful litigant, for robbery. Very naturally the chiefs refused to try cases, and the Resident was overwhelmed with trumpery village quarrels.

A further cause of anarchy is that the chiefs are afraid to inflict punishments. They are in doubt as to the extent of their own power. I am speaking now, of course, of chiefs in districts where the authority of the White Man is firmly established. It seemed to me that the most important and difficult task for a colonial administrator was to regulate his dealings with the chiefs, so as to secure them against trivial complaints, while not indulging them in reckless oppression.

Left to themselves, the authority of the chiefs naturally varies with the strength of character of the individual chief. The result of the White Man's recognition of a chief's authority is to

place it on a firmer basis. Checks more or less unperceived by us, but none the less effectual, are removed, and thus our respect for native institutions may easily end in stereotyping what is bad in them, and making permanent what is adventitious.

In the Province of Kabba, I found there was much greater need to encourage the chiefs to use their authority than to check them in the abuse of it. In one place visited by me, having put my invariable question as to whether the chief had any complaint to make, I received an answer in the negative. But the next morning, having, as I suppose, learned something of my doings elsewhere, the chief came before me, attended by numerous followers, and told me that a stranger had recently come to the village, who had taken one of the chief's wives to live with him, and refused to give her up. I asked the chief why he did not go with his followers and reclaim his wife, and the answer came: "Because I was afraid of the White Man." This case illustrates the condition of timidity to which a large number of native chiefs have been reduced, by reckless interference, in a province in which, I may remind critics of the Colonial Office, the Department is a new-comer.

Laws.—There is no law, strictly speaking, in the Province of Kabba, except that administered by the Resident. From this sweeping statement I must not forget to except such towns as Egga and Lokoja, where the law of the Koran finds expounders. The native judge in Lokoja, called the *Alikali* (Hausa for *Al Kadi*, the cadi of the Arabian Nights), was a man who would have done credit to a much more important position. Shortly after my arrival he had the courage to come and tell me that I had been misled in a native case. Those who have experienced the sickening flatteries of natives will realise the value of a candid friend. When I asked the Alikali if it was too late to repair my error, he made me the memorable answer: "A judge should not give two decisions." I made this golden maxim the rule of much of my subsequent conduct. No judge can hope to be right in every case, but finality is within his reach, and is not less valuable than justice itself.

Instead of attempting any generalisation on the native law, I will record a few specimen cases that I was called upon to deal with

The chief of Arikpa complained that his vassal, the chief of a smaller village, had neglected to pay tribute, and refused to do his share in repairing the highway. (Amicably settled.)

The chief of Chokku-chokku complained that his suzerain had ordered the people of Chokku-chokku to cease burying their dead under the floors of their houses, and to inter them in the bush. (I advised compliance on sanitary grounds ; and ordered the suzerain to practise what he preached.)

A farmer complained that on his way through Egpemmi the king had robbed him of a cow. (King ordered to restore cow, or come and explain. On his defiant refusal to do either, I marched to Egpemmi and dethroned him.)

A stranger lodging in a village for the night went off with clothes and money, the property of his hostess. She went in pursuit, accompanied by an influential fellow-townsmen. (The case would probably have ended in nothing, had I not been on the spot.)

At Okéle a youth was brought before me charged with murder. He had struck off a man's arm, and the man had fallen dead. I asked the second king what was the native penalty. He replied : "If a man kills another, we kill him." I doubt if the prisoner would have been punished, however, as he was the son of an influential man. He had not been touched before my arrival, which was quite unexpected. (Recommended to mercy.)

Two men travelling from Igarra to Lokoja asked the way of a man of Okéle, who had known them in Igarra. He lured them to his house, and bound them, to make slaves of them. Apparently there was no redress available. (Ten years' penal servitude.)

A trader, passing the night at Lanpessi, was murdered in the morning by his host, for the sake of his property. Two strangers in the town, who witnessed the deed, fled for their lives. They afterwards came to Lanpessi in my train and denounced the murderer. Lanpessi was notorious for murders, and the chief refused, or was unable, to give up the criminals. (Hanged.)

In one case a report reached me of a man having been put to death under circumstances which seemed to point to the action of a secret Vehmgericht, like those described by Mary Kingsley. I passed on the report to the High Commissioner, as I felt some

doubt as to how these clubs should be treated. In the absence of anything better, they may be regarded as a rudimentary Quarter Sessions. They are at all events a native institution.

Religion.—The prevailing religion of the Province of Kabba, before the advent of European and Mohammedan missionaries, seems to have been that primitive, material Christianity of which traces are found in so many parts of the globe, the central rite of which was the sacrifice of a human victim at Easter to atone for the sins of the tribe. Outside the wall of a small town on the Lokoja side of Kabba, I came upon a green hill on which I was informed the sacrifice had been annually performed within living memory. It was with something of a thrill that I found myself standing on this African calvary, so strikingly suggestive of the share which atavistic instinct plays in the philosophy of us all.

In the town of Ieri, to the south of Kabba, I learned that a black goat was offered up every Easter to the great juju stone. Here, as elsewhere in the province, the substitution of an animal for a human victim has taken place under Mohammedan compulsion, a fact which deserves to be remembered in pronouncing on the slave-raiders of Islam. I suspect, however, that human sacrifices continue to take place secretly in many places where they have nominally ceased. Kabba itself is situated at the foot of three hills, all of which are juju ; and my Assistant, who had spent a year in the place, informed me that he had refrained from exploring the hills, in deference to the strong feeling of the natives.

Although I did my best to convince pagans and Mohammedans alike that our Government was not actuated by a proselytising spirit, they naturally assumed that I was a Christian, and this fact led them to practise deceptions which they believed would please me. Thus in one town where I arrived on Sunday, the old king, who had himself offered up numbers of victims in his time, turned up the whites of his eyes when I asked him if I could see the local smith at work, and responded through the interpreter that such a thing was impossible on "Lahadi." A short stroll through the town brought me to the premises of the craftsman, whom I found carrying on business as usual.

A still more barefaced case was that of a soldier of my escort, whom I had observed constantly with a copy of the Koran in his hand. Sir Frederick Lugard's Home for Freed Slaves was in Lokoja, and it was one of my duties to bestow the adult females in marriage on suitable candidates. This soldier accordingly came to me to apply for a wife. I inquired how many wives he possessed already, and was told only one. I then, as a matter of form, asked his religion. "A Christian," came the answer, with an ingratiating smile. "Tell him," I said to the interpreter, "that as he is a Christian, and has got one wife already, I can't give him another. If he had been a Mohammedan, I could have given him another wife." There was a hasty exchange between the interpreter and the applicant: "He says he will be a Mohammedan!"

It may be gathered that all forms of religion sit rather lightly upon the natives of Kabba. But it would be more accurate to say that their professions sit lightly on them, and that when we think we have made them Christians, we have simply made them hypocrites. It is now almost unanimously agreed by non-missionary observers that Islam is the religion which yields the best results in practice, in this part of the world. To say that this is due to its lower ethical standard is surely quite irrelevant. It is not the theoretical, but the practical, standard which counts, from the point of view of the administrator of a province.

Christianity comes to the natives as the White Man's religion. They hear the words of the missionaries; and they watch the lives of the traders, formerly known on the coast as Palm Oil Ruffians; and they form their conception of Christianity from both. They naturally learn to look on it as a system in which profession is much more important than practice. They learn that the only thing in polygamy against which the White Man really sets his face is the plurality of marriage ceremonies. They are taught that by putting on a pair of trousers and going to church they become the White Man's political equals and moral superiors. The wonder is that conversions are not more numerous, and that the converts are not worse, than is actually the case.

The missionary and the trader are in the habit of attributing every evil in West Africa to the Colonial Office and its agents.

It may therefore be permissible to point out that the Colonial Office took over the Province of Kabba in the year 1900. For forty years the missionaries and the merchants have had Lokoja pretty well to themselves. The result is best described in the words of a letter which I received from the venerable native judge, a man universally respected among natives and Europeans alike, soon after my arrival: "As you are a strange man here, and are not acquainted with the habit of the people of Lokoja, I feel bound to inform you that they are all hypocrites and false tale-bearers; therefore if any of them come to you to mislead you, do not listen to him."

It will be readily understood that I did not feel disposed to act upon the suggestion made to me by the representative of the Church Missionary Society in Lokoja, Mr. Aitken, that the natives might be induced to embrace Christianity by Government proclamation. He urged that they had adopted Islam in obedience to an order from the Fulah conquerors. I put it to him that there was some difference between the principles of Jesus of Nazareth and Mohammed on the subject of forcible conversion. "The natives would not appreciate the distinction," was the reply of this gentleman, whose Society has been established in Lokoja for nearly half a century.

The practically universal experience of administrators in all parts of Africa is illustrated by two remarks in the January number of this *Journal*. The Governor of Khartum, on page 123, writes thus:—"The Shilluk is above all honest, and few and far between are cases of theft. . . . They are nominally Mohammedans, but by far the greater part of them have no religion at all. . . . Their standard of morality is high compared with other Sudanese." Lieutenant Drysdale, writing of the Basutos at the other end of the continent, observes: "The worst class of native is the converted one, as is often the case; they are generally very dishonest, and also very dirty."

In the face of all the evidence it is difficult to resist the conviction that the person who lends any help to Christianise the African is a wilful evildoer.

The natives of Kabba share the common beliefs in charms, or as the interpreter calls them, medicines. The Serikin of Lokoja sent out a party of hunters to secure a leopard. The king of the

hunters, in addition to more carnal weapons, was provided with a medicine the effect of which should have been to prevent the leopard from using his teeth and claws. The medicine failed to work, and several of the hunters were badly scratched and bitten. But an explanation was at once forthcoming. The king of the hunters had omitted to fast, or perform some other ceremonial observance the night before.

For seven days after the leopard's death a musician had to play a *gombo*, the native guitar, outside the house of the man who had slain it. The object of this was explained to be to scare off the ghost of the leopard, which would otherwise kill the leopard's slayer. "How would the ghost kill him?" I asked. "It would kill him with trembling," was the answer. What a light is thrown by this answer on the awful fear of the unseen which dominates the mind of the savage, and governs his whole life!

At Ieri I encountered a thunder-dancer. He was clad in a short skirt, covered with cowrie-shells, which rattled when he danced. I was told he had formerly been a conjurer, but had lately taken to the other calling. I paid him a shilling to dance, and within half an hour it actually thundered, not having done so for weeks before. My own theory was that the man was sensitive to electricity in the air, and danced when he felt the thunder coming; but I should think he himself probably believed in his own power.

The cowrie-shell is a favourite charm, as well as coin, probably owing to its sexual suggestion. I found it strewn on the path into the town of Okpé, and also used as a decoration to the flintlock guns in use by the natives.

In the town on the summit of the great Stone of Semarika I found human skulls displayed as charms, a practice recalling that of our Scandinavian ancestors, who displayed horses' skulls in the same fashion. Semarika was celebrated for its human sacrifices, and I was assured that a human victim had been slain to avert my entrance into the town. As I found that the practice was not wholly religious, but combined with robbery, the favourite victims being passing traders whose property was seized at the same time, I had no hesitation in treating it as murder, and sentencing the chief of these thugs to death.

I could not obtain any positive evidence on the subject of

cannibalism. But rumour attributed it to the Kukuruku tribes, in whose country Semarika is situated. It was clear to me that the natives either regarded the practice with a certain horror, or had learnt from the Mohammedans and ourselves that it was so regarded by foreigners. The natives are quite as sensitive on the subject of their juju as civilised peoples are on the subject of their religion, and much time and patience is necessary to induce them to speak freely to us.

The White Man.—The White Man is a general term which stands for the Colonial Government, or for its officer on the spot, or for European civilisation. It is the power, the *potestas* as a Roman lawyer would say, under which the native has come without any consent on his own part.

To say that we are in Africa for the good of the native is cant. It is cant of which Englishmen are much too fond ; and foreigners find it easier to pardon our greed of dominion than the unctuous professions by which we love to disguise the truth from ourselves. We have the same right to govern the African Black that he has to rule his wives, or domestic slaves, or his cattle or anything that is his. The old slave-traders excused their fiendish treatment of the negro by exactly the same kind of language as is used by the modern Imperialist. It was the curse of Ham in those days ; it is the White Man's burden in these ; but in point of sincerity there is nothing to choose between the two phrases.

The situation stands thus. Africa has become the prey of Europe. The sole question left open is which nation of Europe shall rule in Africa. If England can show, as a practical result of her administration, that the Black is better, happier and more prosperous in her colonies than in those of Portugal, Spain, France and Germany, she will have furnished the best, and in fact the only available justification for her conquests, from an altruistic standpoint.

I should be guilty of untruth if I declared that the White Man is really popular, or that his rule is really welcome, in the Province of Kabba. My own very clumsy and often mistaken attempts to understand the natives, and administer justice among them were received with a gratitude which distressed me by the eloquence with which it spoke of their treatment in the past. I

have already quoted the testimony of the native judge as to the character of the people of Lokoja. On the first occasion of my receiving the headmen of the town in audience they complained to me that any youth in the place who had got a situation as servant to a White Man possessed more influence than the chiefs.

It is necessary that I add the reminder that this region was only taken over by the Crown in 1900, and therefore any criticism of the effect of the White Man's sway on the natives is criticism, not of administration by Downing Street, but of administration by Traders.

If I may venture to record a personal judgment in conclusion, I will say that what this country needs is not systems but men to administer them. The natives understand personal government, and know well enough when they are dealing with a man who is interested in them, and anxious to help them in the arts of peace. To treat them as equals is not the way to gain their respect; and the man who cannot appreciate the difference between justice and equality is not likely to do anything but mischief to white and black alike in West Africa. The supreme problem is to find a supply of men equipped with the necessary qualities of courage, wisdom and sympathy, and able and willing to endure life in a climate which is itself a fever. I doubt if such men are to be secured by competitive examination. They are certainly not to be found exclusively in the ranks of the army, any more than they need necessarily come from a Liverpool counting-house.

It must be borne in mind that West Africa has been looked on hitherto as the back yard of the empire. The Coast was long a place to which ne'er-do-wells were shipped off to die of drink or malaria. The result has been a bad tradition. Men of the right kind are half ashamed to take positions on the West Coast, and men of the wrong kind are an obstacle to improvement. The pay and prospects of a West African official are as much below those of an Anglo-Indian one of similar rank, as the hardships and climate are more severe than those of India. Under the circumstances it is really astonishing that so much good work has been done.

Two simple statements of fact will serve to show the supreme

difficulty which confronts the West African administration—the difficulty of keeping its men. At one time during my stay in Lokoja, the most important Government depot in Northern Nigeria, the departments of Marine, Public Works and Stores were all three represented by a single young man, an accountant in the Marine Department. Prior to my arrival there had been no fewer than eight Acting Residents of the province in the space of six months.

ALLEN UPWARD, *late Resident.*

NATIVE RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE most valuable record of Zulu, Bantu, and the other higher South African native customs is the Blue Book published by the Cape Government in 1883. It is to be regretted that hardly any copies of this Report exist in this country in our Public Libraries, and that those who discuss here the question of native conditions in South Africa have not access to the only real source of information. This Blue Book is the report of the proceedings of the Government Commission appointed by Sir Bartle Frere, and afterwards reappointed by Sir Hercules Robinson to enquire into the native laws and customs. The Commissioners visited a number of places throughout the Cape Colony right up to the borders of Natal, and examined magistrates who had been dealing with the natives, a large number of native chiefs, missionaries who had spent their whole time in the mission-field and had been all through the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and Bechuanaland. The evidence, therefore, is of peculiar value as giving the experience of persons who had spent the better part of their life among the natives. One of the principal witnesses was the late Sir Theophilus Shepstone, whose knowledge of the natives was perhaps unique. The Commission was directed to enquire first into the native laws and customs, and to suggest whether it was desirable to frame a code of civil and criminal law for the native territories then recently annexed; next to enquire into the native marriage customs and how far it was desirable to legalize them. This second head involved an enquiry into the question of polygamy and its recognition. The Commission were further directed to turn their attention to the native customs as to land tenure; and, lastly, to enquire what system of local self-government it was desirable to introduce among them.

To understand these customs properly it is necessary to examine the condition of a tribe which has not been broken up and interfered with by outside white influences. In such a tribe the chief is theoretically the absolute governor; but practically he is unable to make any laws at all. Himself the representative and embodiment of the tribe, he is subject to all the tribal laws in force when he assumed the chieftainship. Although chiefs have at times exercised despotic power, as a rule they have no power except that given them by the consent of their headmen, given at assemblies of the chief men of the tribe, who, though not always entitled Councillors, attend by virtue of personal influence, or the possession of riches, as the heads of large families, or by hereditary descent in the tribe. The Councillors are governed by the opinions of their constituents or the people under them. The headmen are to a large extent hereditary, though not always so. Sometimes the chief sends for one set of headmen one day, and for another on another day, as it is not necessary that any particular set of headmen should be present at an assembly; and he can thus fully satisfy himself that public opinion is represented. Before anything is decided upon, the headmen usually assemble at the chief's or king's residence, on such occasions as annual dances. The king or chief explains any new law which he may wish to promulgate; a discussion takes place, and if the opinion of those assembled is favourable, it is carried out. If the chief makes rules without calling an assembly, they would not be obeyed, unless they happened to coincide with public opinion.

Native laws and customs are preserved by the oral tradition of their old men. On the discussion of a new law, laws and customs which bear on the matter are referred to; but no general recapitulation of existing laws takes place. Questions are settled by a discussion among the old men, or if serious by the chief himself, assisted by his hereditary councillors. The natives are so conservative of their laws that Mr. Brownlee, the Chief Magistrate of Griqualand, who had had fifty years official and private experience among them, said he only knew of one case in which any attempt had been made to change a law, and that was by Kreli, who directed that in the case of a wife's death no cattle should be claimed or recoverable. The unchanging

character of the laws is evidenced by the fact that among the Kaffir and Basuto tribes the fundamental laws are almost identical, although there are slight differences on immaterial points.

As the chief is the absolute governor, so he is also considered as the person entitled to allot as he pleases the occupation of the land on which the tribe lives. The native does not conceive of land as a thing capable of ownership, but only as capable of being possessed and occupied. The bounds of the tribal territory used to be loosely marked, generally by certain natural boundaries such as rivers and mountains. Out of the land occupied by the tribe the chief selects a part for his personal occupation, and divides the rest into districts placed under the care of petty chiefs or headmen, who in their turn allot mealie and grazing grounds to the men under their jurisdiction. This distribution of land however is in no way connected with services due to the chief. If any refugee clan from another tribe should seek and obtain the protection of the chief, the head of the clan presents the chief with a beast in token of submission and becomes his man, and is directed to some locality where he may settle. A man allowed by the head of his clan to occupy land makes his kraal, builds his huts, ploughs the piece of land which suits him best, and allots tillage ground to his younger brothers or dependents, leaving one part of the settlement open for a cattle run. Should the chief or petty chief afterwards require the land for his own use he will quietly take possession, directing the man to go and build elsewhere. This is not such a hardship as it would seem to us, as the natives do not attach any value to land as such, but regard it merely as a thing which has conveniences or amenities. Land is never sold or exchanged by them. It is however rare that a chief dispossesses an individual of a site or garden ground, and disputes as to land are easily adjusted. Another reason why the native attaches little value even to his tillage plot, is that he does not understand manuring the soil : so that under any circumstances, after it has been used for three or four years for growing mealies, it is exhausted, and a new site for a garden plot has to be sought.

Each kraal tries to reserve its own grazing land, and objects to cattle from other kraals grazing on the same land. The ground for tillage is chosen with reference to the grazing

convenience, and the subdivision of cultivated land is marked by strips of grass left untouched by mutual consent. Any disturbance of these strips would be met by an appeal to the headman of the section. The right to cultivated land is obviously more prized and respected than the right to any particular spot to build upon, as native huts are easily removed and rebuilt; and families never dispose of their rights of occupation to these plots, nor exchange them. There are no disputes about right of way, and they never think of interfering with a person travelling, even though he should pass through their mealie garden.

Primogeniture is the law among Kaffirs, except in the case of the chief: and all the property descends to him which has not been apportioned to a special house by the father in his lifetime. The future chief is the son of the chief's great wife, who is not necessarily his first wife, but is the one he has nominated to be his chief wife. The chief frequently delays selecting the wife who is to bear his successor until late in life, and sometimes dies without having done so. The naming of the chief wife is in some cases done by the chief himself; in other tribes by the chief in co-operation with the headmen, in which case the tribe frequently contribute towards the marriage of the woman selected. The choice of the headmen is usually declared at the marriage, though it is quite possible that the chief and people may name one of the chief's actual wives.

A chief of any importance has generally three sections to his house; the great wife, the right-hand wife, and the left-hand wife. From time to time during his lifetime he apportions cattle to the different sections, which are regarded as the property of that section; and it is not uncommon for the father to lend cattle belonging to one section for the purposes of another, leaving the loans as charges upon the heir of the assisted house. The eldest son of the chief wife of each one of these sections is heir to the property. If the head wife of a section has no male issue, then the son of the wife next below her in rank becomes the heir. The eldest son of the great wife or chief wife is the universal heir—head of the family and all its members. The second and other sons of each section have no right of property under the law of inheritance, but look for help to the eldest

brother of their section, who is expected to provide sufficient cattle to secure each of them a wife. This he does by way of a present ; and chiefs have ordered elder brothers who refused this duty to supply their younger brothers with the necessary cattle for one wife. Until the younger brothers marry, the eldest son takes the father's control, and may call upon them to do any kind of work required of men, such as helping to make the kraal, or fighting to defend the family. During the lifetime of the head of the family he can divide to each section any private property which he has independently acquired. At the marriage of a daughter the cattle given for her go to the house to which she belongs, and out of which she is married.

There is no such thing as a will. The native customs provide, as Sir Theophilus Shepstone said, so amply and so justly for the disposition of property that such a thing is not necessary, and it would cause great disturbance if the head of a family were allowed on his death-bed to alter by a will the arrangements made during his lifetime, which recognized the just rights and claims of all concerned. In his opinion it would break down order and subvert justice, if a man of infirm body and unsound mind were at the last moment of his life allowed by any English legislation to disturb the settlements recognized for perhaps a lifetime, by which members of his family had become entitled to look upon particular property as their own.

The eldest son of the first or right-hand wife has special rights and a fixed rank, although he cannot succeed to the chieftainship unless his mother is the chief wife. His position is the great executive officer of the family. The descendants of the left-hand wife always succeed to the chieftainship before those of the right-hand come in. Women do not succeed to property at all, but are allowed to own whatever they may acquire by their own industry.

This brings us to consider the position of women among the Kaffirs. Their position may be looked at from three points of view : their power to possess property ; their position in relation to marriage ; and their position as married women.

The common notion as to Kaffir women is that they are bought for a certain number of cattle by their husbands ; that they then are practically slaves, and have to do all the work

for their lord and master. This is a misconception of the native custom of giving cattle to the father or guardian of the girl on marriage. Practically it is nothing of the kind. The theory of a Kaffir marriage is that the intending husband is obliged by payment or by services to prove to the woman's father or guardian that he is fit to undertake the duties of a guardian and husband towards her. Although the promise to deliver cattle or the delivery of them is generally held to be the chief essential of marriage, there are a number of other customs which accompany it, such as the marriage dance and feast. The giving of cattle for a wife has certain great advantages. It ensures that the father shall take an interest in his daughter's chastity ; for if she is not a virgin he gets a smaller dowry. The natives never consider it as a sale. They use the word "tenga" when speaking of a sale, and "ikasi" of a marriage-gift. It is not a sale, because the husband cannot sell his wife nor ill-treat her. If he treats her badly and she runs away, he is not entitled to receive the cattle back again, but may claim their return if she herself behaves badly ; so that her relatives have a distinct interest in her right conduct. The native women take pride in the fact that a large number of cattle have been made a present for them, and never respect themselves until this is done, much on the principle that what you have got for nothing is worth nothing. When a man has to give cattle for a wife, he is more careful to treat her properly, as he cannot get another without a similar gift. Where natives have become Christians and not acted on this principle, it has been a frequent cause of conjugal unhappiness and sometimes desertion. As Pombani, a native headman, explained to the commission, if cattle are not paid a man can turn round on his wife and say, "You are only a cat. I did not pay anything for you": at the same time Pombani pointed out that cats were the only living things "which we natives do not buy, but present as presents."

The husband seldom divorces his wife ; for he has great difficulty in getting the cattle back, and he cannot get another wife without providing a second dowry. It is more usual for the woman to go away. The husband can follow her, but cannot touch her among her friends. He can only bring their

influence to bear, either to have her returned or the cattle. Adultery is not a cause of divorce, but the husband can get the adulterer fined. A man loses caste if he turns away his wife because he dislikes her, and it is very seldom done.

When the husband dies, the widow is entitled to support from her house, or she may return to her own family. If she marries again, and her father or guardian gets a second dowry, he is expected to return the first. Only the actual number of cattle are returned, and not any increase.

As to a woman's property, though the father or husband is theoretically the owner of everything in his kraal, he is not so practically. The father indeed often gives as many cattle to his daughter when she leaves his house as he receives, and these remain her own property and the property of her house. She may also add to them by her labour. Thus the gifts of the husband do not constitute anything like the bulk of her property.

With regard to the woman's labour, there is a well-understood and a fine division of labour in a Kaffir family. It is the duty of the males to attend to the live stock, to build, cut the poles and laths and erect the huts and keep in repair the kraals, to herd the cattle, to milk the cows and see that their milk is properly cared for, to fence the gardens, and cook their own food. They also prepare skins of animals for their own and the children's use. The women do the grass and thatching part of the huts, cultivate the gardens, and attend to the other domestic duties. Mr. Brownlee, Chief Magistrate of Griqualand West, in speaking of the labour that women had to perform said, "The one strong point urged in support of the slavery theory is that the women have to perform all the labour, while the husbands have to go in idleness. The actual labour performed by the women bears no comparison to what is performed by the women of the lower class in England. The labour of the Kaffir woman is to cultivate her garden in which the mealies are grown. This takes three or four weeks in the spring. Two months afterwards she has to hoe the ground, which lasts three or four weeks more. She is not driven to work, and if so disposed may take it easily enough. As a rule women only work during these eight weeks in the year. Where the plough is

introduced, the man does the work, and in large districts in the Cape the natives are now employed at the ploughs." Sir Theophilus Shepstone said, "A woman need not work except of her own free will. I have often heard men talk of their wives and complain that one wife was idle and did not take care of the house ; while another was extolled as being in everything industrious, diligent, and thrifty."

According to our ideas, the position of woman can never be elevated where polygamy is general ; and this habit is all but universal among the natives. It might be thought that poor men would be in favour of monogamy ; but Sir Theophilus Shepstone said there was not a single young man in Kaffirland who did not hope and believe that he would live to marry three or four wives, though the majority of men had only one wife because they had not the means to support more. The women are in favour of polygamy because it is a matter of pride to belong to a large establishment. They have rank among themselves, and prize their position highly. "Polygamy," says Sir Theophilus Shepstone, "lives in the minds and ideas of the people from the highest to the lowest. Our objection to it seems to be looked upon by them as arising from some radical difference of race which incapacitates us from judging of its fitness or otherwise." In his judicial capacity he frequently had cases before him in which a single wife has urged her husband to take another and has rendered him material assistance in carrying out her wish. Sir Theophilus Shepstone showed a table of native marriages registered in Natal between 1869 and 1880, which gave the number of first, second, third, and other wives up to the twenty-fifth ; and the proportion of marriages seems to be pretty constant. In 1880 out of a total number of 4,277 marriages registered, 2,596 were first wives, 1,058 second wives, 348 third wives, and the remaining 277 represent marriages of a greater number of wives. The Government of Natal is the only Colony which keeps a register of native non-Christian marriages, and in the Blue Book of Native Affairs for 1902, it seems that in 1899, 1900 and 1901, the same number of polygamous marriages takes place. For instance, in 1899, out of 2,678 marriages registered, 1,716 only were first marriages ; in 1900, out of 3,174 marriages, 2,030 only were first marriages ; in 1901,

out of 4,128, only 2,699 were first marriages ; and, of course, there is no guarantee that those who were marrying a first wife did not thereafter add to the number.

The Bishop of St. John's gave two reasons amongst others to which he attributed the great prevalence of polygamy. The women after they are about 36 retire so to speak from married life. A woman will say to her husband, " the time is now coming when I shall go and live with the children," and goes on to say that he shall be her father and that he must get a second wife. They have a custom also that it is not decent or proper for a mother to be nursing a baby at the same time as her married daughter. The retiring wife helps her husband to get a second wife by giving cattle if she has any, and this second wife lives under her for a year in the house with her husband. At the end of that time the old wife goes to live with her eldest son, though she is still regarded as a great wife. Of the kraal to which she goes she is the head. There is nothing unpleasant between the parties, and wherever she goes she is kindly treated.

There is a curious custom which obtains in Natal, whereby a brother is entitled to take the widow of his deceased brother as a wife. This does not correspond to the Jewish custom of the Levirate, because it does not depend on her having had no children. In Natal in the last three years, 1899, 1900, and 1901, there were respectively 67, 97, and 120 of these marriages registered. The object of the custom is to prevent a large establishment being necessarily broken up, and the women dispersed and children left without anyone to care for their wants. Any children born under this arrangement are legally the children of the deceased. In Natal, by law the full consent of the widow is indispensable to such an arrangement being carried out.

It may be desirable to add a few words as to native law. Native law does not seem to recognize the technical distinction between crime and civil wrongs known to our law. Practically offences against the chief and tribe may be said to be treated as criminal, whilst those against individuals, as small thefts between tribesmen *inter se*, are treated as civil wrongs. Offences against the person are treated from the point of view of whether they weaken the chief or the tribe. If a person

is injured in limb, and a complaint is made to the chief, the offender is punished by fine ; but this fine does not go to the person injured, but to the chief, because a member of his tribe has been thereby weakened. If a tribesman has been killed, no member of the injured man's family can claim compensation. The chief is alone wronged, and he alone receives the fine or blood-money. "No man," the natives say, "can eat his own blood." If all a man's property is taken away, he is described as being eaten up. Things which we treat as crimes are treated as offences amongst them ; but almost every offence is punished by a fine. Life for life is not usually required. Thefts are not frequent among them ; and, if anyone is accused of theft and found guilty, it usually results in his being fined an amount considerably exceeding the amount stolen. If a sheep were stolen, the fine would probably be five sheep ; the chief would take the greater share ; the sheriff who had brought the thief would get a sheep, and the complainant would get back something more than he lost.

Every man in the tribe is a policeman, and bound to report to his superior any act of wrong or anything out of the common which he may see done, or to become personally responsible for it. By reporting to his superior he rids himself of the responsibility. The superior can act upon his own discretion ; he may either take steps himself to pursue or arrest or investigate or apply such remedies as he thinks necessary, or he may in turn report it to his superior until it has reached the highest authority. When a *prima facie* case is made against the accused, he is cross-examined and has to exculpate himself.

The procedure in a criminal trial would be somewhat as follows. The complainant would go to the headman or chief, and when he was about half a mile off would sing out "I have come to complain." Anyone at the kraal would turn out and say "What have you come to complain about?" The complainant then states the charge, which he repeats three or four times a day. He sits where he is for some time, perhaps for days, and relates his case frequently. After that a Councillor would come out, and ask him what he had come about. He would then again repeat his complaint to the Councillor. After this he would be asked "Have you got any witnesses?" and would answer "Yes"

or "No"; or say "One of the witnesses would not come, and I want you to send for him." The messenger, Umsila, is sent to fetch the defendant if not present, or to bring the witnesses that may be required, and in presence of the Councillors who are to hear the case the charge is again stated, and the complainant immediately cross-examined by the Councillors and by the accused. The accused makes his reply, and is also cross-examined. The accuser's witnesses are first called, and afterwards those for the accused, who are not allowed to be present at the same time. After the evidence is closed, if the chief is not present, it is laid before him; he may if he thinks necessary have the case talked over again. Retiring to a hut privately, he gives his decision through one of the Councillors at the door of the hut, the decision being merely passed on. No great chief ever passes sentence in public. The accused is then and there, whether satisfied or not, bound to thank the chief for his decision. In cases where the chief thinks that the accused has already made sufficient amends he words his judgement as beseeching the complainant to behave leniently and have compassion on the defendant. Sometimes the accused admits the charge and offers something in the shape of stock, and bargaining goes on until the complainant is satisfied or succumbs to the defendant's entreaties for mercy.

By this method of trial a defendant rarely escapes if there is a well-founded case against him. Magistrates used in trying cases between the natives to be guided by our methods of procedure, or at any rate the methods of procedure we pursued until the last Criminal Evidence Act, and did not cross-examine the accused, or ask him to give evidence, with the result that persons willing to admit their guilt often escaped paying the penalty, and the natives felt nothing but contempt for our legal system; judging that if a man is innocent he must be able to give the best evidence of his innocence; and if he is guilty there can be no reason to allow him to escape. We have the view of Sandali, chief of the Saikas, when a magistrate complained of constant robberies and threatened to have his tribe removed. He replied:

"Tell the Government they have taken away what authority I had. I am helpless. Had I my own way I could stop stealing

to a great extent. Thieves are encouraged ; they are not deterred by fear of punishment ; both the act of stealing and the crime are very easy. Stealing pays too well. The culprit is made to suffer very mildly ; he is seldom forced to disgorge. He is cautioned not to incriminate himself and often escapes punishment after having freely and candidly confessed his crime out of court. This teaches prudence and caution. For instance he steals twenty live sheep, distributes them among his friends and partners in the trade. Say the sheep are stolen before shearing. They are stolen all at one time. The ear marks are obliterated, rendering identification difficult if not impossible. Suppose he is caught however with three or four in his possession. He is cautioned not to say anything against himself. After a protracted trial (generally looked upon as a farce) he is possibly acquitted for want of sufficient evidence. If not he gets a few months imprisonment, perhaps a year with so-called hard labour. He is comfortably if not luxuriously fed on bread and meat, probably supplied with coffee, sugar, tobacco, housed, well bedded, well treated in every way and very humanely worked. At the expiration of his term he is fat and sleek, gets a suit of clothes and returns home to find that his sheep have been well looked after and possibly increased a hundredfold. I say, could he by any possible application of labour have done so well for himself by diligent and honest labour in a twelvemonth ? By no means. A farmer would perhaps have paid his boy eight ewes for herding and being responsible for 800 or 1,000 such ewes ! Having succeeded so well no wonder his sons are tempted to follow in their father's footsteps. Punish them severely I say. Burn their kraals out. Remunerate the loser handsomely, pay informer and detectives well. Work him hard and feed him sparingly, by these means you will stop stealing. I shall give you all assistance, but let the red men (*i.e.* the black men smeared with red clay) be paid out of the fines. They could ferret out cases with more chance of success than clothed and drilled policemen."

Since 1883 a new Native Territory Penal Code has been passed in the Cape, and has been altered in the direction of common-sense so as to allow the accused and the accused's wife or husband to be called as witnesses.

Torture as a means of obtaining evidence is unknown among the Kaffirs except in the case of alleged witchcraft. The giving of false testimony where it is to the prejudice of another is considered an offence, and the accused may recover damages. Perjury as a means of defence is not considered an offence. Hearsay evidence is allowed, but has no great weight. The evidence of informers and accomplices is regarded as good. Accused persons' children, wives, and women, may also give evidence.

The Spoor Law of the native must strike any candid reader as the acme of common-sense. Cattle are their only wealth, and if these are stolen the thief is traced in the following manner. The track of the animals is followed, and if it leads to a kraal, the inhabitants are made liable unless they can show that the cattle did not come there, or can trace it further on. If the trail is lost between two kraals, they are jointly held liable for the cattle unless they can trace the trail further on or can show what has happened to them, as by Kaffir law you are bound to account for all cattle or traces of cattle found on your land. The result of this, before the Europeans came to a district, was that cattle were invariably recovered when stolen, and thefts were rare. When the English came, they objected to be made liable for missing cattle unless they could actually be traced into their possession.

The most serious offence among the natives is witchcraft. Like all other undeveloped races they are very superstitious; and if an illness occurs to any of them that they cannot account for, they put it down to witchcraft. A Kaffir may forsake his kraal because it has been struck by lightning, or because illness has happened to him there; and this he accounts for by supernatural agency. They therefore employ witchdoctors to smell out the wizard or witch; the witchdoctors pretend to find him out by going through certain dances and the use of charms. They themselves know perfectly well that they are imposing on the credulity of the people. Witchdoctors practise their calling for the sake of gain, in all cases receiving a fee before they proceed to smell anyone out. They are responsible for most of the murders. When the people are satisfied that the person indicated by the doctor has caused the evil he is put to death, sometimes with the most extraordinary torture, carrying out to

the letter the enactment of the 18th verse of the 22nd chapter of Exodus, "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live." This ignorant superstition is sometimes made use of by chiefs in order to get rid of an objectionable person, or a person who is unreasonably wealthy; and witchdoctors very seldom smell out anyone who is not either rich or unpopular; two or three of the magistrates in their evidence gave instances in which they were able to expose the chief's real object in having a person smelt out and exposed to ridicule before his tribe.

Any candid reader of the Blue Book, after considering the evidence of the magistrates and missionaries who lived for years in constant contact with Kaffirs, must rise from its perusal with a feeling that the native is neither vicious nor debased nor hopelessly lazy. His faults seem to be in great measure the faults of children or animals when acting under the influence of fright, hardly knowing what they are doing. The contact of Europeans with the native has, in the first instance at least, not tended to improve him.

A Halla Chief pathetically said to the Commissioners: "We hope the Government will from time to time send persons to explain things to us. We are trying to learn, but there is a good deal of darkness. We are Government children, and a child must be advised every day." That the native is capable of improvement is shown by the number of natives who in the Cape Colony have taken to farming, have used ploughs, and understand individual ownership. And the annual reports of the magistrates appointed over the natives show that the use of these is on the increase. It is however impossible to expect that a race which has been accustomed to tribal ownership will grasp the advantages of individual ownership directly, especially in a country like South Africa, where the land that can be used for arable purposes is comparatively limited, and where therefore the larger portion must be used for grazing purposes. Tribal ownership of land does not stand so much in the way of progress where grazing is the only purpose to which the land can be adapted. The Glen Grey Act of 1894 was an attempt by the Cape Government both to assist the native and protect him against the white man. It gave him in the districts scheduled a right to eight acres of arable land together with

grazing at fifteen shillings a year. To protect him against the white man it is provided that it cannot be mortgaged, sub-let, or divided. To induce him to labour, a poll tax of ten shillings has been imposed upon every black capable of labour, unless he can show he has been in employment for three months in each year outside his district. If however he has worked for a time equal to three years, he is exempt. Quite a number of chiefs and natives have taken advantage of the opportunities for learning afforded them in the Lovedale and other institutions in the Cape Colony. The evidence of the Blue Book shows that the native if treated intelligently, with due regard to his history and traditions, will undoubtedly prove a valuable asset in the labour-market in South Africa.

E. BLACKWOOD WRIGHT.

CHRISTIANITY IN UGANDA

STANLEY'S challenge to the Christian world to send forth missionaries to the Court of Mutesa appeared in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* of the 15th November 1875, and probably no single letter to a newspaper has ever brought about such extraordinary results. The sum of £24,000 was almost immediately offered to the Church Missionary Society for the establishment of a special mission in Uganda. The missionaries occupied the new land, converted the heathen inhabitants with a rapidity that startled Christendom, and but for the unfortunate sectarian differences which arose a little later, the story of the Uganda Mission would doubtless have been the most brilliant record of the spread of the Gospel in the annals of the world. The check that the work received from an unexpected quarter and the long years of terrible bloodshed and civil war that resulted therefrom are matters of such interest as to be worthy of being told at length.

In the spring of 1876 the Church Missionary Society had completed its plans, and the pioneer party, consisting of eight members,¹ left England, reaching Zanzibar in June. Thence they proceeded on their way to Uganda, but before leaving the coast the misfortunes of the little band had commenced. One of the artisans died, the two others were invalided home, and Mackay's health forced him to remain behind near the coast. The remainder of the party reached the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza after an arduous march of many months, and before embarking for the capital was further reduced by the death of Dr. Smith. Wilson and Shergold Smith eventually arrived at Mutesa's Court on the 30th June 1877 (O'Neil having

¹ Lieut. G. Shergold Smith, R.N. ; the Rev. C. T. Wilson ; Mr. T. O'Neil, architect ; Dr. John Smith, Edinburgh Medical Mission ; Mr. A. M. Mackay ; and three engineers or artisans.

remained behind in charge of the stores of the expedition), and the reception accorded the missionaries by the king exceeded all their expectations. He expressed himself as eager to learn all about Christianity, and Wilson remained at the capital to preach the Gospel, while Shergold Smith sailed down the lake to bring up O'Neil and the stores. In December 1877, Shergold Smith and O'Neil were murdered by the natives of one of the islands of the lake, and Wilson was left, the sole survivor of the party, to carry on the great work. Mackay,¹ however, who during his enforced stay on the coast had been doing good service, joined Wilson in Uganda in November 1878, and in the following spring reinforcements had arrived from England, Pearson, Litchfield and Felkin having proceeded thither by way of the Nile, while another party followed the route of the pioneers from Zanzibar.

For a time no less than seven Protestant missionaries were at work in Uganda, and the king and his people were soon convinced of the advantages of Christianity. The missionaries were confident of success, and the day when Mutesa should for ever throw off the pagan yoke and embrace the new faith was awaited with sanguine eagerness. To have converted the king would have carried with it the immediate establishment of Christianity in Uganda ; the old heathen customs would have been broken down, and the entire country would have been revolutionized. It was, however, not to be ; for, at the very moment when the Protestant missionaries were on the point of reaping the reward of their labours, two influences arose to check all progress. The Arab traders, whose caravans plied between Uganda and the coast, saw the danger of allowing Mutesa to be persuaded by the Christians, and, fearing a loss of power at the Court, did all in their power to undermine the hold which the Englishmen had obtained over the king. Whose arguments would have prevailed with the heathen monarch it is impossible to say, but the arrival in Uganda of a party of French Roman Catholic missionaries (Algerian Mission) soon decided the fate of the Christians. As was only natural, Mutesa, on hearing from the Romish priests that their views were not in accord with those of the Protestant

¹ A. M. Mackay: *Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda*. By his Sister. 1890.

missionaries, became perplexed, and at once proclaimed the whole Christian Church an imposture. He, however, still maintained his friendship towards his old guests, the Protestants, and, in June 1879, despatched three envoys to England in charge of Wilson and Felkin.

For a while Uganda wavered between the Cross and the Crescent ; the arguments of the advocates of each faith seemed almost equal, though Mackay found it easy when confronted with his adversaries to defeat them on all points. He was a man of many parts, and his early training as an engineer soon brought him immense popularity as a "handy man" ; his workshop was beset by the natives at all times, and their faith in the white man's knowledge knew no bounds. Islam was defeated, and, for a second time, the missionaries imagined that the evangelization of the country was on the eve of becoming an accomplished fact ; but a second time they were doomed to disappointment. This was in December 1879, when a wave of paganism passed over the land, obliterating, for the time, all traces of the good work done by the missionaries. "It is heartrending," wrote Mackay, in one of his letters home, "to think of this result of more than two and a half years' teaching of Christianity at this Court." The cause of the new trouble was the state of health of Mutesa, who for two years had been suffering from an incurable disease, and who had now been persuaded by his female relatives to seek the advice of a wizard or medicine man, professing to have intercourse with the *lubare*, or spirit, of the great Nyanza. Mackay fought with all vigour to prevent the introduction of the medicine man into Uganda, but owing to the weak character of the king and the influence of the women, his efforts were of no avail, and Mukasa, the seer, was accommodated in the royal enclosure. Mutesa acknowledged from the first that he had no faith in a cure by charms, but at the same time he seems to have believed that his destiny was controlled by the spirits of his departed ancestors, and that there were certain persons who were able to hold converse with these spirits.¹

¹ "Every dead king has a *Maandwa*, who makes all believe that the spirit of the late monarch has entered into him, or does so periodically. On these occasions he raves frightfully, talking in a strange falsetto voice, when people bring pots of *mwenge* (beer), for the *muzimu* (spirit of the departed) is believed not to *eat*, but to *drink* plentifully." *Mackay*.

The pagan influence soon became supreme, and the people were forbidden to hold intercourse with either Christians or Mohammedans: then, urged on by the rabble of heathen priests, Mutesa gave way to every form of brutality and vice. His executioners were placed on every road with orders to kidnap, each day, a certain number of passers-by for the morning sacrifice. Scores of innocent natives were slaughtered at sunrise: the bloodthirsty agents scoured the country, far and wide, for victims; and on certain great occasions, the king proclaimed a *kiwendo*, when two thousand human beings were slaughtered at one time. The one aim and object of all these atrocities was the cure of the king's disease (stricture), and seeing, at length, that the pagan doctors were unable to effect this, Mutesa called in the services of an Arab, and, later on, of the French Roman Catholic missionaries, but both resulting in failure, he returned again to the human sacrifice treatment, which, if not producing a cure, at any rate soothed his troubled spirit. That he was easily persuaded seems certain, for at one time he had commanded his subjects to embrace Islam; at another he was almost a Protestant; and again, the "White Fathers" imagined they had secured him. At heart he was a pagan, and a cruel and licentious ruler, and his death on the 10th October, 1884, was not a matter of regret to Christians, Mohammedans, or heathens.

To go back a little. The last years of Mutesa's reign had witnessed extraordinary religious changes in the country. The Mohammedan party had greatly increased; almost a hundred natives had been baptized by the Protestant missionaries, and the Roman Catholics had been working steadily to gain converts to their creed. There thus existed at this time three distinct alien creeds, whose followers became absolute fanatics, Roman Catholics and Protestants hating one another with a fervour only equalled by their joint hatred for Mohammedans. Had the Christian missions combined and been content to work on broad-minded principles, Uganda might have been saved years of bloody warfare. But from the outset a bitter jealousy sprang up between the French and English missionaries, each party endeavouring to undermine the other, with the most fatal results to both. The religious future of Uganda was

hanging in the balance ; the feelings of the heathen inhabitants had been worked up to a change ; like the Japanese, they desired to renounce their ancient beliefs ; but it was difficult to decide what new creed would suit them best. Mohammedanism had many points in its favour ; it permitted polygamy, slavery, and a certain latitude in the matter of charms and reverence for spirits, but on the other hand the Christian missionaries had proved themselves far superior to the advocates of Islam. Still, there was a split in the Christian camp, which was perfectly inexplicable to the pagan, and he began to doubt. At whose door—whether Roman Catholic or Protestant—the blame is to be laid it is not necessary to discuss, though treating the matter from a purely non-sectarian point of view it can be regarded only as most lamentable.

Up to this time reinforcements had been continually despatched to Uganda by the Church Missionary Society, and shortly before Mutesa's death James Hannington had been consecrated first Bishop of Uganda. The embarrassment caused by the presence of the French missionaries had been temporarily removed at the end of 1882, when, after a residence of three and a half years in the country, the "White Fathers" quitted Uganda, and the English missionaries seized the opportunity to redouble their energies among the native population.

Mutesa was succeeded by his son Mwanga—a lad of eighteen—who was well-disposed towards the missionaries, or appeared to be so. He even asked that more missionaries might be sent to Uganda, and invited the "White Fathers" to return, probably for the sake of the presents which he knew that they would bring. Be that as it may the fact remains, that within two months of his accession to the throne, Mwanga had denounced all alien religions as destructive to the welfare of his kingdom, and threatened both Mohammedans and Christians with extermination. The Protestant missionaries, Ashe, O'Flaherty, and Mackay were seized, and three of the native converts were roasted to death. Then followed the murder of Bishop Hannington, on his way to the capital from the coast ; and in May, 1886, the persecution of the native Christians increased, no fewer than thirty-two being burned

alive on one pyre. "In spite of martyrdom by torture and burning," says Lugard,¹ "the religion grew, and converts came to be baptized, though they knew that the profession of the Christian faith might cost them their lives on the morrow."

In June, 1886, there were in Uganda the two Protestant (English) missionaries, Mackay and Ashe, and two Roman Catholics (French). Ashe left in August, but Mwanga refused Mackay permission to depart, and he remained at his post alone for a year, during which time the persecution of the Christian converts continued uninterruptedly, until eventually they fled from the capital in all directions. At length, in July 1887, Mackay left Uganda and went to the south of the lake, being relieved at his post by the Rev. E. C. Gordon, who was joined in the following April by the Rev. R. H. Walker.

Mwanga now changed his bearing towards the missionaries, and went so far as to encourage them in their work. Protestants, Roman Catholics, and even Mohammedans were permitted to go about unmolested, though it soon became evident that the king had formed a plan for ridding his country once and for all of their presence. In August 1888, the plot was discovered, and the three parties joined in a common revolt, and marched on the capital, with the result that Mwanga immediately took flight, and was deposed. Kiwewa, Mwanga's brother, was placed on the throne, and the chief offices were taken over by the Christian converts, while the minor ones were given to the Mohammedans. This was a somewhat faulty arrangement; for, as was only natural, the Mohammedan party—far stronger than the Christian—became jealous, and in October attacked the Christian chiefs unawares and ruthlessly murdered them. Panic seized those of the native Christians who escaped massacre, and they fled to Ankole; while the missionaries (both English and French) were seized and sent away down the lake.

The Mohammedans (Arabs) were now masters in Uganda, but they failed to induce Kiwewa to become a convert, though they soon succeeded in driving him from the country, when they placed another brother, Kalema, on the throne.

This brings us to the middle of 1889, when the European

¹ *The Rise of our East African Empire.* 1893.

missionaries who were living on the southern shores of the Nyanza, and the Christian converts who had found a refuge in the kingdom of Ankole, determined to offer the fugitive Mwanga the chance of recovering his lost kingdom. They promised, under certain conditions, to support him with their arms, and the pagan population of the Nyanza islands (smarting from the oppression of the Mohammedan rule in Uganda) threw in their lot with Mwanga. War was declared, but the Mohammedans were too strong for their opponents, and the Christians were defeated and put to flight. Later in the year however the Christians, having received a fresh supply of arms, renewed the attack, utterly routed the Mohammedans, seized the capital, and reinstated Mwanga.

So far the two Christian parties, equally oppressed and in trouble, had been content to consider themselves merely Christians, and to work together for the expulsion of the common foe. Now however that this was accomplished, there commenced the unfortunate sectarian differences to which reference has been already made. It would be unfair to ascribe these differences entirely to the few European missionaries, for it must be remembered, that each of the two factions (Protestant and Roman Catholic) consisted of a number of the native chiefs and their followers who had become converts to Christianity and were naturally jealous of one another. Still, the European missionaries must be considered to have been the responsible heads of their respective factions, and that the natives regarded them as such is evident from the fact that they usually obeyed them—even when their blood was up for a fight.

At Mwanga's restoration, the Christian chiefs divided the country and the offices of state, and each party at once set to work to plot against the other. The King himself professed to be a Roman Catholic, and was certainly much under the influence of Père Lourdel, but at the same time he had come to regard it as a matter of importance for the safety of his throne that Europeans (with their superior weapons) should be induced to come to Uganda, whatever their denomination. Had the Roman Catholic missionaries been fellow-countrymen of the Protestant missionaries, it is quite possible that all differences

would have been sunk in the desire to uphold British prestige, but that the "White Fathers" were French undoubtedly increased the jealousy of the European leaders of the two factions, who now distinguished themselves, not as Roman Catholics and Protestants, but as French and English (*Wa-Fransa* and *Wa-Ingleza*).

For the moment, however, there was little time for either party to gain much advantage, for within a month of Mwanga's return the Christians had to combine to resist a Mohammedan attack. The Christians were defeated, and forced to take refuge on the islands of the Lake, though in February, 1900, they turned the tables on the Mohammedans and recaptured the capital.

It was at this time that the British East Africa Company decided to extend its operations to Uganda, and Mr. Jackson arrived in the country, to endeavour to make a treaty with Mwanga. The king however, at the instigation of Père Lourdel, refused to agree to the proposed terms, the Roman Catholics supporting the king, and the Protestants siding with Jackson. Seeing that he could not get his way, Jackson decided to leave his deputy (Mr. Gedge) in Uganda with the arms that he had brought up, and return to the coast to make further arrangements. The *Wa-Ingleza* said that they would depart with Jackson and abandon Uganda, but no sooner was this known than the *Wa-Fransa* determined that, being too weak to stand alone against the Mohammedans, they would also accompany Jackson. Eventually it was decided to send a representative of each faction to the coast to find out whether the English or the French were about to establish a protectorate over Uganda.

The Protestants and Roman Catholics were at this juncture only restrained from attacking each other by scarcity of arms and ammunition, and by the fear that civil war would give the Mohammedans the opportunity of once more seizing the country, and massacring all Christians. Mwanga's sole idea was to obtain arms by fair means or foul, and he was quite prepared to risk a civil war in the hope that the *Wa-Fransa* would be able to capture the arms in the possession of Mr. Gedge. Gedge had instructions to avoid all possibility of a conflict, but

if such appeared probable, he was to take the *Wa-Ingleza* to Usoga.

In May 1900 Père Lourdel died, and later in the year Lugard, on behalf of the Chartered Company, proceeded to Uganda in order to come to terms with the king, whose country had now by international agreement been placed under the influence of Great Britain. Lugard's task was no light one ; his mission had for its objects not only to make a treaty with Mwanga, but to maintain peace between the *Wa-Ingleza* and the *Wa-Fransa*, to settle the country, and practically to assume control over it. Hitherto all Europeans who had visited Uganda came laden with presents, and showing great deference to the king ; Lugard's arrival (December, 1900) was entirely different ; he marched his armed caravan of some 250 men straight on the capital, pitched his camp, and sent a polite message to Mwanga, fixing his own time for a visit.

After every conceivable objection on the part of the Roman Catholic faction, the treaty was eventually signed, but even then the disputes between the *Wa-Fransa* and the *Wa-Ingleza* increased rather than diminished each day. The differences were semi-political, semi-religious, and they arose from the original agreement that the Christians had made on restoring Mwanga to the throne, viz., that the Protestant chiefs and the Roman Catholic chiefs should share equally in the offices of the State, but that if a chief changed his religion he should forfeit his rights and his lands.

Bishop Tucker and three new Protestant missionaries reached Uganda a few days after Lugard's arrival, and during the month that the Bishop remained in the capital many converts were made. In March, 1901, the number of Protestants was estimated at 2000 *adherents*, though these probably included the irresponsible followers of Protestant chiefs, for the actual numbers were recorded as two hundred baptized Christians and sixty communicants. There were, however, 2000 *Wa-Ingleza* ready to fight for their cause ; while on the other hand the *Wa-Fransa* faction was superior in numbers, and was moreover backed up by Mwanga. Lugard, though a Protestant, remained absolutely unbiassed, so much so in fact that the *Wa-Ingleza* on more than one occasion taxed him with favouring the *Wa-Fransa*.

The story of the following year (1891) is one of constant disputes, preparations for war between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, threatened night attacks, and minor outrages. That civil war was averted early in the year was due entirely to Lugard's personal influence and diplomacy ; though the appearance of the common enemy, the Mohammedans, on the borders of the country in the spring somewhat relieved the situation. All attention was now paid to war with the Mohammedans, and both factions, assisted by Lugard and his porters, took the field in April. By the middle of May the Mohammedans had been defeated and the war was at an end, but Lugard did not return to Mengo (the capital) until some months later. During his absence on important work in the neighbouring provinces Captain Williams was left in charge of Uganda, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he was able to restrain the rival Christian parties from attacking each other.

Mgr. Hirth, the head of the Roman Catholics, had taken the place of Père Lourdel as Mwanga's secret adviser, and moreover he endeavoured to persuade Williams that, if peace were ever to be assured to Uganda, one or other of the two Christian factions must disappear. It is unnecessary to say which party Mgr. Hirth desired should remain. The manner in which the gradual disappearance of the *Wa-Inglesa* was to be brought about was the repeal of the old law concerning the forfeiture of estates when a chief changed his religion. This had all along been the stumbling-block to the spread of the *Wa-Fransa* cause, for the Roman Catholic missionaries knew well that many of the Protestant chiefs would naturally like to be on the side of the king, were they able to retain their lands on changing over.

To make a long story short, the law was actually repealed, but before this occurred Mwanga and the Romanists had evidently laid a plot for the extermination of the Protestants, and though the *Wa-Fransa* had practically obtained what they wished, it was now too late to prevent a conflict. Mwanga had arranged that there should be a rising in Buddu, and he had given orders to the petty Chief of Koki to lead a *Fransa* army, suppress the rising, and wipe out the *Wa-Inglesa*. As a matter of fact, however, Koki was utterly defeated by the Protestants, who fought with the greatest valour. This was

in July, 1891, and there were various little outbursts in the succeeding months, culminating in a more serious affair in Chagwé (Eastern Uganda) in November. Here in all probability the *Wa-Ingleza* would have suffered severely, being outnumbered by their opponents, had not a caravan (under Mr. Martin) arrived from the coast and Lugard himself appeared with his force in the neighbourhood of the scene of the impending fight.

At the beginning of 1892 a crisis seemed imminent. Mwanga for the moment doubted the good faith of the Roman Catholic party, and expressed a wish to go over to the *Wa-Ingleza*, whereupon Lugard suggested that he should declare once and for all for the English and accept the flag of the Company. The king wavered, and finally refused the flag. Fresh troubles soon arose in all directions ; a Mohammedan invasion threatened, and had to be checked by the despatch of *Wa-Ingleza* and *Wa-Fransa* armies from the capital ; then came a new disturbing element in the shape of a powerful pagan rising, having for its object the expulsion from the country of all Mohammedans and Christians, and more particularly of Europeans. But both the Mohammedans and the pagans were soon suppressed, and the country began to settle down again to the old state of political and religious ferment. Even Lugard began to despair of settling matters satisfactorily between the two factions, and he distinctly blames the European missionaries for the state of unrest. "It is not, therefore, to be wondered at," he writes, "that the converts of either religion were animated by the intensest rancour and hatred of each other, since their teachers showed such narrow-mindedness."

Up to the 20th January, 1892, there had been no indication of anything more than the usual friction between the *Wa-Ingleza* and the *Wa-Fransa*, but within a few days the storm had burst. A Protestant native was murdered by one of the *Wa-Fransa* ; Mwanga refused justice, and was supported by the Roman Catholic chiefs, as well as by the Fathers ; Lugard remonstrated, but received insulting messages in reply. Then the *Wa-Fransa* beat their war drums, and the country was up. The battle that followed (24th January) was one of the fiercest yet fought in Uganda, and everything points to the fact that the

Wa-Fransa desired to fight and were absolutely confident of victory. Perhaps the best proof of this is that Mgr. Hirth and his ten Fathers refused to accept the protection of Fort Kampala which Lugard had offered them equally with the Protestant missionaries, when he saw that there was small possibility of averting a conflict.

But for the insulting boast of Mwanga and the *Wa-Fransa* chiefs that after defeating the *Wa-Ingleza* Fort Kampala should be stormed and looted, probably Lugard and his Company's men would have held aloof from the battle ; now, however, they were forced in self-defence to support the *Wa-Ingleza*. Without entering into the details of the fight, it will be sufficient to say that the result was a surprise even to Lugard, for the *Wa-Fransa* were completely routed and driven from the field ; the Roman Catholic church, the dwellings of the Fathers, and the huts of the *Wa-Fransa* were set on fire ; and Mwanga fled for his life. It is, however, satisfactory to know that none of the European missionaries took an active part in the day's work, and when the fight was ended, Lugard rode over to the Roman Catholic Mission Station and escorted the Fathers to Kampala, where he entertained them as his guests.

Mwanga had taken refuge on an island of the Lake at no great distance from the capital, and Lugard at once endeavoured to induce him to return, telling him that he "had no quarrel with him," and that it was all-important that he should look after his kingdom, so that the Mohammedans and pagans should not seize it. Mwanga however was afraid to return, and two days after the fight Mgr. Hirth, contrary to Lugard's wish, decided to visit the king on his island. With him went eight of the Fathers (two remaining at Kampala for another day), and Lugard sent porters and an escort with them, assisting them thus under the impression that they intended to persuade the king to return and bring about a settlement. In this he was bitterly disappointed, for he soon heard that the French missionaries were hand in glove with Mwanga and the *Wa-Fransa*, and not at all anxious for a reconciliation.

On the 29th January a fresh outrage was committed by the *Wa-Fransa*, who burned some Protestant dwellings on the shore of the Lake, and failing to get satisfaction Lugard proceeded to

attack Mwanga's place of refuge and cleared out the *Wa-Fransa*. Mgr. Hirth and Mwanga escaped together in a canoe, while the rest of the Fathers were escorted in safety to Kampala, where they received every hospitality. After these events nothing particular happened for some little time, though what with the *Wa-Fransa*, the Mohammedans, and the want of a king, the state of anxiety was intense.

Towards the end of February, 1892, an expedition was sent to capture the Sessé Islands, and early in March the Fathers left Kampala, in order to rejoin the *Wa-Fransa* and attempt to induce Mwanga to return before the Mohammedans got possession of the country. The *Wa-Ingleza* alone were not strong enough to hope to resist a Mohammedan invasion, and Lugard, aware of this, was temporizing with the Mohammedans and contemplating, in the event of Mwanga's continued absence, the establishment of Mohammedan rule in Uganda. Had this actually occurred, Christianity would probably have disappeared from Uganda altogether, and Mgr. Hirth now grasped the situation, though hitherto he had hoped that, by keeping Mwanga away and allowing the Mohammedans to attack and destroy the *Wa-Ingleza*, the *Wa-Fransa* would be able to drive out the Mohammedans and become paramount in Uganda.

On the 30th March Mwanga returned to his capital, and threw himself on Lugard's mercy. Lugard received him as if nothing had happened, and the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries and chiefs welcomed him as the ruler of the kingdom, hoping that his return meant peace in the land. Negotiations at once commenced, and on the 5th April the treaty of peace between the *Wa-Ingleza* and the *Wa-Fransa* was concluded. By its terms the country was divided between the two factions, Buddu and certain islands being handed over to the *Wa-Fransa*. A week later was concluded a further treaty, by which Uganda was placed under the protection of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and all parties, *Wa-Fransa*, *Wa-Ingleza*, and Mohammedan, eagerly accepted the British flag. As was only natural, for some little time the two Christian factions put forward claims and counter-claims, but Lugard himself now dealt with such matters, and when he left Uganda

in June, he had the satisfaction of feeling that he had established between the Roman Catholics and Protestants a peace that had every prospect of being a lasting one. "Lugard," writes Sir Harry Johnston,¹ "effected very wonderful things with very small resources. It will be some time yet before the greatness of his exploits is thoroughly realised."

From this time dates the spread of Christianity in Uganda, for the missionaries no longer dreading war were able to set to work with comparative freedom of action. The Mohammedans, like the Christians, were given a district in which to reside, though as long as they were peacefully disposed they were permitted to go where they pleased. As has been pointed out, the number of actual converts to Christianity prior to the war was probably small, and the bulk of the fighting force on each side consisted of the followers of chiefs who were themselves either Roman Catholic or Protestant converts, or for political reasons professed to be so. Now everything changed, and the record of missionary work during the last decade can only be described as most brilliant. In place of actual warfare, there set in a healthy religious rivalry between the missionaries ; and though there is nothing to show that the Protestant missionaries and the Fathers were ever on friendly terms, at the same time there was no open rupture.

With regard to the Protestant Missions, Bishop Tucker visited Uganda at the end of 1892, and on Christmas Day preached to a congregation of 5,000 natives in a new church, that had been erected on Namirembe hill. In the following May he "admitted six natives to deacons' orders, licensed ten lay evangelists, and confirmed 141 candidates."² During 1894 immense strides were made in spreading the Gospel, not only in Mengo, but also in the outlying districts ; nearly 150 teachers were distributed throughout the country, and supported either by the chiefs or by public subscription ; upwards of 200 churches were erected in various parts, with congregations estimated at a total of not less than 20,000, and the natives purchased 12,000 copies of scriptural translations. By the arrival, in 1895, of several new missionaries and five English

¹ *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902.

² *Church Missionary Atlas*, Part I., 1896.

lady workers a further impetus was given to the work, which thenceforward continued to make considerable progress year by year, until in 1901 we find the following statistics recorded:—Total European staff, 59 (22 clergy, 2 medical missionaries, 13 lay missionaries, and 22 ladies); stations occupied by the C.M.S., 20; native staff, 27 clergy, 53 licensed readers, 2,408 native teachers.

No less prosperous have been the efforts of the Roman Catholic missions, for not only have the White Fathers (French) continued their work, but an English mission (Mill Hill College) has also been established. The number of Roman Catholic stations in the different districts is now seventeen; there is at the capital a fine stone cathedral, and elsewhere some 450 places of worship. But it is not by mere preaching that the advantages of Christianity are brought home to the people of Uganda; both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic missions have established a most thorough educational system, under which thousands of native children are instructed at any rate in the "Three R's," pupil teachers are trained at certain centres, and advanced teaching is given to native lads who are desirous of becoming clerks, &c. A special feature of the Protestant mission is its industrial schools, at which many useful trades are taught; and the medical and hospital work carried on by the English and the French missions is so excellent that, even were there no question of religion, the native would be forced to confess that the presence of the white man was essential to his very existence.

From what has been related above it will be apparent that Christianity in Uganda is an established fact; that Uganda is to all intents and purposes at the present time a Christian kingdom, and that it became such more by good fortune than by good management, for but for the presence of a layman (Lugard) at the critical time, in all probability the Christians in Uganda would have exterminated themselves. However, the great fact remains that the Cross in this part of Africa forestalled the Crescent, and now that the whole of the Continent is being rapidly opened up, it would be well if certain lessons learned from the evangelization of Uganda were borne in mind. It must be remembered that Uganda was an ideal field for mission work—a

pagan country whose people lived in a state of semi-civilization uninfluenced by the Mohammedans, and ready to accept a religion that could prove itself advantageous to their welfare. The first missionaries were well received by the Baganda, and it is not too much to suppose that had not the White Fathers arrived on the scene, Uganda would have quietly accepted the Cross almost at once, and years of unrest would have been saved, as well as thousands of lives. Still no one can blame the Roman Catholics for going to Uganda—they had as much right to do so as had the members of the Church Missionary Society ; but it is for their narrow-mindedness, and for meddling with politics, that both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missionaries are to blame, and it is in this latter respect that danger arises from missionaries pushing forward into new fields in Africa.

It is impossible not to admire the pluck of the little bands of missionaries who daily face the dangers of penetrating into unknown countries, but at the same time it is questionable whether they should be permitted to go where their country is unable to protect them. Their doing so has frequently led to costly expeditions, resulting in the deaths of many brave Englishmen and countless natives. "Trade follows the Flag" is a well-known saying, and it would seem as if should be prefixed to it "The Flag follows the Missionary." Is it right that this should be? Is it the *rôle* of the teacher of religion to prepare the way for annexation, following after bloodshed? Why should not missionaries restrict their work in Africa to the enormous tracts of pagan country that have been brought under the direct jurisdiction of the several European Powers, instead of endeavouring to rush ahead in search of fresh ground? These and similar questions the layman asks, and the missionary's reply is ever the same—it is his duty to go everywhere, and to take the risk. He does not seek and he does not want the protection of his country ; he goes with his life in his hand and his trust in God. Yet Great Britain has hitherto considered it her duty to get missionaries out of difficulties, and will doubtless continue to consider it her duty to do so. For that reason alone missionaries should be chary of involving their country.

A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN,
Lieut.-Colonel.

THE COLONIAL CONGRESS AT LISBON 1901

(Translated from the Portuguese, with an Introductory Note
by CAPTAIN J. BARRETT-LENNARD)

THE following contribution by Captain Almeida d'Eça of the Royal Portuguese Navy cannot fail to interest students of Colonial problems. Incidentally it shows that these problems are studied not alone in Great Britain. Captain d'Eça's profound knowledge of his subject, broad liberal views, and practical spirit have aided and will aid men of all nations to grasp better the principles upon which successful administration must be based.

Captain d'Eça has made voluminous contributions to the subject of Colonial enterprise in his own country, and is untiring in his efforts to awake his countrymen to the necessity of revising their opinions as to colonial affairs, and to bring the current thought on the subject into line with that of other Powers whose Colonial empire was not born when the Portuguese flag had flown for centuries from China to Peru.

A fervent patriot, Captain d'Eça has none the less read and digested all that can be learnt from the experience of the Colonising Powers.

J. BARRETT-LENNARD.

IN response to a courteous request to contribute a paper to the *Journal of the African Society*, I gladly comply, and only regret that my limited resources are unequal to my desire to do justice to the subject.

Indeed, the honoured name of her in whose memory the African Society was founded, is enough to attract the co-operation of all who admire the progress of humanity, in a work in which Mary Kingsley was truly conspicuous—the de-

velopment of Africa and a just comprehension of the means whereby this object may best be realised. For myself, the son of a land which has written so many illustrious pages in the extra-European history of discovery and development, an accidental circumstance is in itself sufficient to make me desire to contribute to a Review dedicated to Mary Kingsley. For the device selected to encircle her portrait—*Talent de bien Faire*—is the very device assumed by our glorious Infante Dom Henrique, son of Dom John the First and his noble Queen Dona Philippa of Lancaster, who by initiating the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese led the way in the most remarkable scientific and economic revolution in the history of Europe.

Since the African Journal is a central institution in England for the study of all that concerns Africa, the only difficulty that confronted me was to select from the many diverse subjects of the African problem. Since Portugal is a nation possessing vast regions in Africa, it is inevitable that these subjects should be discussed among us with more or less detail and knowledge, in proportion to the knowledge and aptitude of the writer.

I will mention a few of these subjects. The theory of the *block* (a term lately adopted), that is, the theory by which a few colonising Powers—and in particular one great Power—use in their government too generalising a spirit, and attempt to impose upon all colonies one uniform system of administration; and further, are willing to give the administration of any colony to a governor who has produced good results in any other colony, however different the circumstances. This is a subject which is very keenly discussed amongst us; as is also the question of centralisation *versus* decentralisation in the government of our Colonies.

Again: how the native African races should be considered and treated; whether it is possible to bring them up to our level; whether it is perilous to bring ourselves down to their level; in a word, what should be the relations between political rulers whose position is due to conquest or treaties, and the original owners of the soil whose rights are based upon prescription and the natural conditions of the land. And in respect to the latter I desire at once to give my hearty adhesion to the words of an article which serves as an introduction to the

first number of the *Journal* : "The African must hew down the forest trees, gather the rubber, carry the loads, open tracks through swamps, and lay the railway lines. There is no wealth in the country without him. It follows that, whatever we do where we hold the interests of the white man paramount, tropical Africa must be administered in the interests of its native inhabitants—the only people who can live in it."

My own country is little known in foreign lands and other nations would gain by knowing it better. However it is not in England that Portugal is least known, and there are many well informed Englishmen who have written without prejudice about her ; it is sufficient to name amongst our contemporaries, Major, Morse Stephens, Beazley, Danvers, Frewen Lord, and others. But every nation has its national pride, and the conflict of these national sentiments too often obscures truth and mutual respect for valour. The *Journal of the African Society* affords an open field for all opinions that are loyal and honest. It may therefore be of service for me to say a few words upon the Colonial movement in my country, especially on the Colonial Congress, which may be said to summarise the present position.

The Geographical Society of Lisbon was founded in 1875, thanks to the efforts of a small number of students, who felt the necessity of arousing the country and the governing bodies to Colonial problems, and particularly those of Africa, then engaging the attention of the rest of Europe. Amongst the names in this group, which to start with was very small, we must not forget that of Luciano Cordeiro, afterwards Permanent Secretary of the Geographical Society. Cordeiro was an enthusiast in regard to the ancient maritime glories of Portugal, and the possibility of strengthening her actual Colonial power. For this object he worked all his life, and won a special reputation as technical delegate at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85.

The Geographical Society of Lisbon soon included all those who in Portugal interested themselves in Colonial subjects, while it established relations with similar institutions in other countries. African exploring expeditions—in which men such as Capello, Ivens, Serpa Pinto, the two Cardoso, and others distinguished themselves—were promoted and warmly supported : the celebration of the centenaries of Camões and of Vasco da Gama—the

latter meeting with a truly universal support—was the work of this Society. In 1892 it was entrusted by the Government with the care and enlargement of the Colonial Museum. To-day this museum, very much increased by later rich acquisitions, has no reason, as all foreigners who visit it admit, to be ashamed of its progress or of its position.

To celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, the Society organised a National Colonial Congress. It was the first time such a thing had been talked about in our country, and the difficulties which had to be overcome appeared enormous, if not almost insuperable. The goodwill of our enthusiasts, however, overcame all difficulties, and the Congress assembled in December, 1901. One circumstance alone cast a shadow over the event: Luciano Cordeiro, the creator of the Geographical Society, who had so largely interested himself in the Congress as well as in the whole scheme of this anniversary, died almost suddenly on the 24th of December, 1900, just when the celebrations were about to commence, and when the preliminary work was practically concluded.

The work of the Lisbon Colonial Congress of 1901 may be classified under the following headings:

1. Organisation of the Congress and distribution of the theses.
2. Preparatory conferences.
3. Memoirs sent to the Congress.
4. Sessions of the Congress. Discussions of theses. Final votes.

The work was directed by the organising committee under the President of the Geographical Society, Counsellor Ferreira de Amaral, ex-Minister of Marine and the Colonies, and formerly Governor of various Colonies. The secretaries were Messrs. Vasconcellos, Oliveira, Moreira d'Almeida, Castanheira das Neves, and the recorder, Dr. Silva Tolles. Twelve sub-committees were appointed to inquire for memoirs on the following subjects:

1. Colonial geography and hydrography.
2. Mineral, vegetable, agricultural, and animal resources.

3. Climatology and medical geography, demography, ethnography, ethnology.
4. Languages, religions, and social conditions.
5. Colonisation and native labour.
6. Public instruction and colonial missions.
7. Colonial navy and army.
8. Railways, roads, telegraphs, and posts.
9. Financial regulations in the colonies, agricultural credits, banks, and taxes.
10. Agriculture, commerce, industry, custom duties, navigation.
11. Colonial legislation, concessions, and regulations of duties.
12. Colonial administration.

After preliminary conferences in June and July, November and December, a series of meetings was held, the first by Professor Consiglieri Pedroso, Vice-President of the Geographical Society, the second by the present writer, also a Vice-President of the Society.

The memoirs presented to the Congress were very numerous ; they are being prepared for the press. Subject always to better judgment, the following may be cited as among the most notable.

The colonising Colonial Companies, by Tito de Carvalho. The Administration of our African Colonies, by Major Eduardo Costa. Native Races and Languages in Mozambique, by Captain Ayres de Ornellas. Colonial Agriculture, by Professor Julie Henriques. Comparative study of the Rubber-producing species, by the same. Roads in San Thome, by Miranda Cuedes. Restoration of the social state in Portuguese India, by Nascimento Pinheiro. These memoirs, with the theses discussed at the Congress, form a collection of essays upon Colonial work which will include the most representative compilations of our country in modern times.

On December 3rd, 1901, the inaugural Session of the Congress was opened by the King, attended by the Queen, the Heir to the throne, the Ministry, and a large number of distinguished guests. On the evening of that day and the three succeeding days the following subjects were discussed.

First day : 1. Revision of duties : the system of duties in their relation to the metropolis and other countries.

2. Emigration : assistance of emigrants.

3. The reconciliation of Colonial manufacturing industries with the industries of the metropolis.

Second day : 1. Regulations for native property in the Colonies.

2. The Cotton question and the crisis in Angola.

Third day : 1. Exportation of Portuguese wines to the Colonies.

2. Colonial instruction and the education of emigrants.

Fourth day : 1. Native products in the Colonies ; and means of protection.

2. Colonial alcohol.

3. Decentralisation of government in the Colonies.

The twenty-three votes of the Congress recorded by the respective commissions were then approved. They included the taking of a colonial census ; the results of the customs tariff ; the establishment of centres of Portuguese population ; the sending out of emigrants ; means of communication with regions suitable for emigration ; the colonies as markets for the industries of the metropolis ; the establishment of various medical and hygienic services and sanatoria ; the protection of the rights of natives as property holders ; the promotion of the cotton industry ; the maintenance, where possible, of native customs and institutions ; the introduction of schools giving instruction in colonial matters ; the strength of wines exported to the colonies and legislation on alcohol ; the reorganisation of native labour ; the land survey of the colonies ; commercial missions in Angola and Mozambique ; the establishment of a service of steamers to the coasts of India and Africa ; the protection of native products and their sub-products.

Remembering that this was the first Colonial Congress ever held in Portugal, it was of great importance, as showing the widespread interest taken in matters affecting the government of our Colonies, and the wide range of the questions involved.

In conclusion, as a typical example of the preliminary work of the Congress, I append a few extracts from a paper read by me (6th of November) on "General Considerations of Colonial History"—a geographical and historical sketch of the Portuguese possessions between the Indian Ocean and Lake Nyassa.

It is from no feeling of personal vanity that I give the preference to extracts from my own work. I do this because it is easier for me, and above all because some of the selected extracts contain personal opinions which I should much desire to find confirmed by others.

The "conventional errors" of our Colonial history would form an interesting study.

It is supposed that there were *systems*, that there could be *systems* of colonisation. But people do not see that this word, in its strict sense, is only a single element of study, a rubric which serves us for the purpose of grouping and classifying facts more or less related to one another by analogy, or by their contemporaneous existence. Those who think thus fail to see that our predecessors did not shut themselves in their studies to draw plans and deduce theories, which became fixed and inflexible and of necessity produced disastrous results. The truth is that no *system* was established, and therefore we must not criticise the value of these so-called systems by the results that they would produce if applied to-day. They can only be judged by the advantages or the disadvantages which they caused at the time, and the reasons which gave rise to them.

For instance, it is asserted that to establish the factories on the sea-coast, and often on an island near the coast, was a *system* and a mistaken *system*, and critics point to the city of Anna de Chaves on the edge of a marsh; the city of Mozambique on a small island; Loanda on the sea-shore with the abandoned hinterland, and many similar cases.

This alleged error, however, was not only wise and prudent, but was the *only possible* method of proceeding in those times. Our factories along the coast of Africa from Arguim to Mombaça were for a long time a chain of posts exclusively used for trade with the natives. What was necessary was rapid and sure communication with the metropolis, and a maritime port

where articles of trade could be easily embarked and disembarked. If the natives brought to these centres gold, ivory, and slaves, why should they be sought in the interior? Some of these ports moreover were chiefly ports of call for the maritime traffic to India, where vessels might procure water and refreshments, repair damage done by bad weather, or await the favourable monsoon. It is obvious that stations in the interior would not have served for such purposes.

Further it is said that if our ancestors had occupied the hinterland, if they had not relied on historical rights founded on pontifical bulls which in course of time became little respected, we should not have been despoiled of the territories we claimed by other European powers, who attacked us from the rear and endeavoured to drive us into the sea. Well, but it would be necessary to know whether our forefathers had forces at their disposal to occupy the lands we claimed in sufficient strength to prevent the invasions of the present day. Later, I will show that they had not such forces, and why not. But even if they had had them, they were unnecessary at that time. Therefore our ancestors acted quite rightly.

Also, it is said that they established these factories in insalubrious spots, and with the profoundest disregard for the most rudimentary notions of hygiene. In reply, may it not be asked how our ancestors should have divined scientific knowledge which is only becoming known to-day?

Besides, according to those who understand the subject, the whole coast of Africa is insalubrious; a few feet of altitude will not sensibly modify the climatic conditions for the European or render him immune to fever. Apparently hundreds of feet are necessary, and such altitudes are only found far in the interior, where our predecessors did not establish posts for the reasons given.

But it is curious that the same people who complain of the errors of the so-called colonial *systems* of the Golden Times, do not hesitate to employ, when they think proper, the well-known phrase—"the little that remains of our ancient Colonial Empire." It would appear as though the whole of Hindustan, the whole of South America, the whole of Africa from coast to coast had at one time been ours, as Portugal is ours from

the Minho to the Guadiana, in occupation, effective possession, and corresponding advantages from the whole of these vast regions!

As a matter of fact nothing could be less true. Leaving aside India and Brazil, and limiting myself to Africa, I say that what we *possess* there to-day, after all the rectifications of frontiers, is *more, far more* than we ever possessed before. It is quite enough to consider the map of Angola—to the north we were at one time at S. Salvador, but later retired. On the coast, Ambriz was occupied in the second half of the last century, and thence to the Zaire we had nothing. From Ambriz to Loanda, we were never able to go along the sea-shore, because Mossule would never consent: towards the interior, we succeeded in ascending the Quanza after the seventeenth century, but got no higher than Pungo Andongo. We possessed nothing to the south of Benguella, and we had to wait for Sa da Bandeira to occupy Mossamedes.

Let us therefore drop this imaginary idea, and realise that what remains to us to-day of our colonial empire in Africa is far greater in extent than what we possessed fifty years ago.

And observe what the spirit of contradiction can do. At times some of those who lament the losses our colonial empire has suffered, affirm that we Portuguese have never done anything in our colonies.

One of these pessimists sails from Lisbon, and sees in Guinea the imperfect network of river navigation; in Loanda the lack of a system of electric tramways; in Lourenço Marques an insufficient number of docks and wharves, and after this he asserts that we have done nothing in our African possessions.¹

Then comparisons are made with what happens at the Cape and Natal, without considering the different circumstances. But I assert that we did great things in Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although during the struggles of the first half of the nineteenth century the poverty of the home country hampered our energies. In the meantime the

¹ Since this paper was read, a great impetus has been given to the building of wharves, piers, and other important works in the harbour of Lourenço Marques, and it is to be hoped that in a few years the harbour will be adequate to the necessities of trade.

conditions of work had been modified, social laws had seen radical alterations, the application of industrial forces had been revolutionised, and then surprise is expressed that, with our population and wealth drained by those pitiful struggles, we were not able to conquer such great difficulties, and continue in our colonies the work we were unable to continue even in the metropolis!

It is true that our colonial activity, almost dead during more than fifty years, only recommenced with Sa da Bandeira who, desiring to do much, could only succeed in little—if it is only little to have saved our colonies in the matter of slavery and the slave trade. And really, the modern period commenced only with Andrade Corvo. Certainly no fair critic who compares our Africa of 1830 or even 1860 with that of to-day, can say that we have done nothing there.

I would remind you that it was the Portuguese who made Brazil. No one imagines that the Brazil of to-day commenced with its independence; at that period Brazil was already made.

Ascending the Amazon, near the Peruvian frontier, a fortress may be seen constructed entirely of masonry from Portugal and armed with cannons cast in our foundries. It is amazing how these heavy materials could have been borne so far. It was however done by our ancestors, as they did much else, from the perfectly organised farms of Para to the arsenal of Bahia and the exploitation of the Minas Geraes. And it was these very achievements in Brazil that hampered us in Africa. To appreciate what I have called the “conventional error” it must be plainly realised that the Power that built up Brazil is beyond doubt a colonising Power.

It also appears to me unjustifiable to assert that evils which affect our colonies spring from the Terreiro do Paço [the Portuguese Downing Street]. To affirm that in the superior administration of the Colonies there is nothing but error, ignorance, ill-will, and even worse, appears to me profoundly unjust and untrue. Do we not count among us here and amongst the most fervent members of the Colonial Congress many of the highest officials of our central colonial administration? Is there an invariable model, a rigorous standard by which to measure

administrative aptitude? and can no man reach those heights unless he has crossed the equator? Naval officers know the legend of a certain "duffer" who doubled the Cape of Good Hope seven times and even then could not tell the time. No doubt there are many veritable "duffers" who go to and from our colonies without adding to their knowledge of colonial administration. It appears to me that administrative aptitude demands one thing above all others—profound study of what has been done and careful consideration of the best means to do more and better; secondly, sufficient energy to carry out a fixed plan, but not on absolutely rigid lines. Now, in my opinion, when a man possesses these qualities it is of secondary importance whether he has visited the colonies or not; the real thing needed is "knowledge" of what goes on there. If the administrator has been in the colonies and is also studious and energetic, he produces good work; but if, not having been in the colonies, he has learned to know them well by superior intelligence and unceasing labour, he may be equally capable of useful work.

And what I have said about the chiefs of the colonial administration, I say also of the subordinate officials; for to condemn all that proceeds from the Terreiro do Paço, only because it so proceeds, is in my opinion a critical error which it is desirable to correct. To discuss frankly, and with reasonable arguments, is good; but to censure all those who do not see eye to eye with us, is bad.

In Mataka we have another example of what I call the conventional errors of our colonial history—the exaggeration of the power of the majority of African native chiefs, and the practice of trying to destroy this power by wars and punitive expeditions.

What is a punitive expedition? I will explain. A merchant robs or maltreats a black; some one in power commits one or many acts of violence; a tribe has skirmishes with others. Complaints reach the ears of the superior authority, and a small force is despatched; this small force is joined (principally on the east coast) by natives who live chiefly or entirely by rapine and murder. The force reaches the place where the offence has been committed, but the criminals (or supposed criminals) have one

and all fled, and only some old man, or more often old woman, is found remaining. The force captures the cattle, cuts down or destroys the plantations, burns the deserted huts, and retires in triumph. That is a punitive expedition! If the force is larger in number, if it is found necessary to employ reinforcements from Europe, if it costs many hundreds of contos of reis, it is called a WAR. Sometimes the punitive expeditions do not get off so easily. Perhaps the natives who have run away return, and hang upon or envelop the retiring force and inflict material loss upon it.

It must not be thought that in what I have said I wish to minimise or leave unrecognised the military virtues of which so many and so enviable proofs have been given in Africa. By no means! I admire and willingly applaud those virtues. I recognise them as a pledge that at the opportune moment the Portuguese will know how once more to protect their independence here, as they knew how to conquer there. But I could wish that these military virtues should not be turned against the negroes; that in Africa our political action should employ means—backed by force only when really necessary—based upon the principle of advance and domination, but of advance and domination by peaceful labours; that wars and expeditions should be exceptional means employed only in extreme circumstances, and not the rule as at present; above all that when we advance we should remain, and never content ourselves with a mere advance followed by a retirement to the point whence we started. Moreover, I believe that the era of wars and punitive expeditions is closing. I feel that every day it is more clearly recognised that it is necessary to advance by constructing roads, to occupy by works, not forgetting natural fortifications, and above all to civilise by example.

It might prove no small incentive if a special order were created for these services. An official who promoted the construction of 20 kilometres of roads, the private person who started a new agricultural undertaking on a large scale, might be made a "knight." For 50 kilometres of roads, for a region newly cultivated, or a mining field in full work, he might be given a commandership; and so on. We have the Order of Merit for Agriculture; why not a Colonial Order of Merit?

One of the most important parts of the great problem of African Colonisation relates to the tide of emigration which it is desirable to see flowing ; and in regard to this I observe yet another of the conventional errors of colonial criticism, as expressed in the words—"the denationalisation of our territories."

It would appear, according to certain persons who are excessively jealous of what they suppose to be an essential condition of our colonial power, that the peopling of the colonial empire which is our inheritance, cannot, and should not, be carried out except by genuine Portuguese elements. They demand, if I understand them rightly, that in the cities and towns the commercial establishments, the banks, the hotels should be Portuguese only ; that in the hinterland the factories, the mines, the ways of communication should be possessed exclusively by Portuguese, who alone should profit by them. And when this does not happen, when foreigners go there and buy and sell and flourish, the critic exclaims that our country is becoming denationalised and that above all things it is necessary to remedy so evil a condition of affairs.

What they want to do is *impossible*. It never has been done, and never will be done, and moreover *cannot* be done.

A foreign critic who had profoundly studied the question, and was forced to recognise the grandeur of our colonial history, Walter Frewen Lord, the erudite author of *The lost Empires of the modern World*, very clearly pointed out the principal if not the sole cause of the decline of our empire of the sixteenth century. Portugal is insufficiently peopled—that is to say, Portugal with three million inhabitants, perhaps less, could not maintain an army sufficiently large to guard so great and scattered an empire as that extending from the Amazon to the Moluccas. And if she had not enough soldiers, how could she find enough farmers, merchants, and miners to develop their respective fields of enterprise in those wide-spreading regions ? For this reason, foreigners were from the first received in our colonial enterprises—for instance, in the Azores which were cultivated by the Flemings.

Emigration is a social phenomenon which cannot be forced, although much might be done by persuasive measures and after due preparation. But to carry to Africa that Portuguese

population which at present tends to America, would demand despotic measures and even then would probably give only negative results.

I believe that I have demonstrated that in real and effective possession our modern African empire is little less than that of the sixteenth century, which was limited to the factories on the coast line and on the river banks. The difference between the three millions of those times and the five millions of to-day is far from giving us enough men—the prime material of occupation—to fill up these regions.

To raise a new population purely Portuguese without any mixture with the natives, however good an aspiration, is little less than a Utopian dream. Let us frankly recognise that to effect rapidly the necessary occupation of our territories, it is indispensable to throw open the doors to foreign elements. And it need not be thought that this foreign element will be from one country only: the statistics relating to plots of land leased in Beira and Porto Amelia show Italians, Swedes, Austrians, and even Turks and Greeks. Do you know what nationalities yearly invade Algeria and Tunis? Spaniards and Italians. French Tonkin is colonised by Germans. In 1895 alone 100,000 Italians and 12,000 Austrians entered Brazil.

This shows that new countries cannot by any means be closed to all who are not of the same nationality as the sovereign state. This shows that the emigrating population, the great colonising power, which has to use the strength of arm, the power of commercial enterprise, the indispensable capital, without which the most robust body and the strongest will cannot resist, must inevitably be cosmopolitan; and that we must not inquire about their original nationality, which indeed as experience shows soon becomes obliterated and absorbed in the new population, linked together by the close bond of the struggle for existence and wealth.

But the sovereign Power? The sovereign Power is bound to maintain itself if it have but one thing—good government; and in order to have good government amongst a population of such varied origin another thing is necessary—probity of the local administrators and impartial justice.

It is therefore an urgent need of our colonial administration

that the law of naturalisation should be a good one. As we cannot shut our doors to the foreigner, let us naturalise him. That which happened in the Transvaal on a large scale, that which is occurring in Beira on a small scale, illustrates the necessity of these measures.

"Scientific bases" in colonial administration are much talked about. I accept the idea, but it is necessary to define the term.

If by a scientific basis is understood the knowledge of the diverse ethnographical, mesological, chrematistical, technical, and political elements, which enter into the complicated action of the colonist using capital and employing hands, and the equally complicated action of the administrator charged with finance and with guarding and promoting development—if by scientific bases are understood perfect knowledge and impartial criticism of the history of each colony, tempered by the laws of evolution showing that what is good and possible at one time becomes in another bad and unreasonable; if these "scientific bases" are to be used principally by the authorities or by the great companies, in such a way as to impose no excessive restriction of individual liberty, even the liberty to err in order to gain experience—then I accept the expression, because I accept the idea.

But if by the expression it is desired to establish an iron system to whose inflexible rules the application of all individual action is to be subject; if a badly understood spirit of generalisation, good in theory, but highly pernicious in practice, is to influence colonial administration to the extent of violating the nature of things and attempting to suppress private initiative; then, in that case, history shows us clearly that upon such bases, however scientific they appear, an enduring colonial power can never be constructed.

I should like to be honestly informed whether science has already said the last word in various colonial problems, some of the highest importance. Is it, or is it not possible to acclimatise the white race in some regions in Africa? in which? What a diversity of opinion prevails in regard to this question! Are the natives of Africa capable, or not, of rising to the level of civilisation? There are scientific opinions *for* and *against*. Supposing that the natives are susceptible to culture, should, or

should they not be encouraged thus to rise? Is it a good or a bad thing to cross the blood of the native with the people who exercise the sovereignty? I fancy that the *scientific* answers to these two questions would be very divergent.

From questions such as these arose the theses submitted to our Congress. It has already been said that this Congress could not definitely solve each of the problems that these theses include, and really no one could expect it to do so. If, however, some opportune solutions have been found, if only a few of these many problems should be I do not say solved but better understood, then the Congress will have accomplished a work of the highest value.

VICENTE ALMEIDA D'EÇA,

Commander R. P. N.

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ENGLISH GOVERNOR AND AFRICAN CHIEFS

WE have before us a copy of the Government Gazette of Lagos of February, 1903, which is interesting as showing the method adopted by the Governor, Sir William MacGregor, K.C.M.G., C.B., in dealing with current questions of native law.

A certain Mr. S——, a native Christian, wrote to the Colonial Secretary to the effect that he had been summoned for proposing to sell some land which he had bought, the question being whether he had any right to buy land at all.

The Governor assembled the Central Native Council to consider the question. He remarked that nearly throughout the letter Mr. S—— spoke of land sold to him, but that, strangely enough, towards the end of his letter Mr. S—— expressed his willingness to pay ground-rent for the land, which would appear to indicate that the land in question was not a sale but was in reality an agreement for a lease. The following question was then put to the Council by the Governor: "Can the native owners of land sell outright, that is, part with land in perpetuity from themselves, their children, their family, and their tribe?"

His Excellency directed that the question should be put to each chief and member separately ; and he informed the Council that each member's statement would be taken down, and afterwards submitted to that member for correction, if necessary, and then placed on record as his final expression of opinion as to the native law, custom, and usage relating to property in land.

The Council, consisting apparently of 26 chiefs, gave their answers, commencing with the junior member.

There was no difference of opinion among these 26 chiefs. Their answers showed a thorough knowledge of the native law on the subject and a thorough grasp of the importance of the question. All the answers were clear and to the point, leaving a strong impression that these chiefs were well able to understand and deal with such questions. Space does not permit of publishing all the answers here, but two are selected, not because they are better than the others, but because they illustrate the point we wish to make.

“Sule Giwa :—We are thankful that the Governor has brought this matter to us for consideration. If the other Governors had established a Council and brought matters up for public discussion, no one would have ventured to approach a chief and talked to him about purchasing land. For there would have been no doubt in the mind of any chief as to what is the right thing to do. Both in the Interior and in Lagos no one sold land in former days. It is only the issue of crown grants in Lagos that made it possible for land to be sold. When land is sold it is lost for ever. It is not right for land to be sold in the Interior. The selling of land is a foreign custom.”

“Lemomu Aibu :—We are thankful to the Governor for having constituted this Council, and for all that his Excellency has done. The Governor should continue to do only what is righteous. The Governor is given to hospitality. His hospitality cannot reach everybody, but his righteous rule will affect the interests of everybody for good. The Governor could have quietly decided Mr. S——’s case by himself. But his Excellency preferred to bring it before the Council, that everybody should know what is going on. Now Mr. S—— is a very shrewd man. I do not know whether he could be truly said to have bought land in the Interior. But to sell land in the Interior is a foreign custom. It is contrary to native custom to sell land. Even in Lagos it was contrary to native custom to sell land. When the Brazilian repatriates first returned to Lagos, land was simply given to them, it was not sold to them. It is the present practice of selling land in Lagos that is finding its way into the Interior.”

In a new country like Africa where millions of people are to be ruled by a very few white men whose work cannot be continuous owing to the climate, so deleterious to Europeans, and where the means of enforcing law and order are chiefly conspicuous by their absence, it is indeed a serious thing to sanction measures which are contrary to the instincts, customs, and laws which the natives have worked out in the course of centuries for themselves. It is beginning to be better understood than it was in {old times, that the best means of governing the people is through their own chiefs. The course of procedure of the present Governor is on these lines, and it may be hoped that it will extend yet further, with the result that the people, when they find their most cherished traditions respected, will settle down the more easily under the new governments to which they will have to submit.

We congratulate Sir William MacGregor on the evident satisfaction it appears to have given to the capable chiefs assembled on that occasion. The Governor seems also to have been calling the chiefs into consultation as to the best means of preparing palm oil and palm kernels for the market. Also, how best to stop adulteration which is so injurious to the trade, and to extend the cultivation of cotton and the planting of Kola nuts. The remarks of the chiefs on these commercial questions show an enlightened appreciation of their importance, as is shown by the speech of Chief Obanikoro who said :—"We depend upon the Interior for trade and livelihood. In former days, the people took every pains for their produce to be of good quality and in good condition. If it rained when they were bringing down produce, they would go under shelter and protect the produce. Then trade was very profitable. Before the English rule, there were trading laws which no trader dared to break. If any persons or towns did not carry on their trading according to law, they were punished. I remember that at one time, because the Ikorodus were not acting fairly in their trading, the king forbade trading with the people of Ikorodu ; and for sixteen consecutive market days there was no trading at Ikorodu. But our present trading is not regulated. Our children do just as they like. It would be a good thing to send to all the Provincial and District

Councils and apprise them of the general situation. But besides this, I would suggest that policemen be stationed at Iddo to examine all the produce landed there. They should be authorised to give tickets to those persons whose produce is found in good condition, and the merchant should be told beforehand to buy only the produce of people showing their tickets."

J. G. B. STOPFORD,
Colonel.

NATIVE CROWNS

THE value of Native Councils is further illustrated by the remarkable visit of the Oni of Ife to Lagos, where he was invited by the Governor in order that the Council might have the benefit of his great authority on the question brought before that body. The Elepe of Epe had claimed a right to wear a crown, and the Akarigbo of Shagamu had alleged that the Elepe was not entitled to wear a crown.

The discussion of the Council is given in full in the "Government Gazette" of Lagos of February 28th.

National tradition had previously forbidden the Oni to travel and there was much weeping at Ife at his departure. Many people accompanied him as far as the river, and they said that they would wait there until he returned. Out of respect to him as the head of all the great interior Chiefs, the other Chiefs, when they heard of his departure from Ife, left their palaces and were living outside the walls, and there they would remain until he returned; even the Alafin of Oyo was now living outside the palace.

Out of respect to his friend the Governor he had broken through the tradition of the country and had come all this distance; and, in order that his visit should be propitious, he had offered sacrifices all along his journey.

At the meeting of the Council the Oni wearing his crown sat on the right hand of the Governor and had his back turned to the Members of Council, as the tradition of the country forbade his meeting either the Akarigbo or the Elepe face to face.

The question was stated by the Governor and the Oni gave his judgment.

The Oni said (*to the Interpreter*): Thank the Governor thrice for me. A man should speak only what he knows to be true. Only the Akarigbo and the Awujale have the right to wear crowns in Ijebu. Even if the Akarigbo is a chicken, he is the head of his government and is entitled to wear a crown. Both the Akarigbo and the Awujale had their crowns originally from Ife. I had only been a few days Oni before the present Akarigbo was installed. Besides the Akarigbo and Awujale I do not know of the rights of any one else in Ijebu to wear a crown. No one on the face of the earth has power to give the Elepe of Epe a crown unless the Oni of Ife. Even the Alake of Abeokuta has not this power. The Alake of Abeokuta and the Alafin of Oyo had their crowns originally from the Oni of Ife. The following are the rulers to whom crowns have been given by the Oni of Ife : The Alake of Abeokuta ; the Olowu of Owu (Abeokuta); the Alafin of Oyo ; the Oba of Ado ; the Oshemoye of Ondo ; the Awujale of Ode (Ijebu); the Alara of Ara ; the Ajero of Ijero ; the Orogun of Ila ; the Owa of Ilesha ; the Alaye of Efon ; the Olojude of Ekiti ; the Olosi of Osi ; the Ore of Otun ; the Akarigbo of Remo (Ijebu) ; the Alaketu of Etu ; the Elekole of Ikole ; the Olowo of Owo ; the Ewi of Ado ; the Oloko of Oko (Abeokuta); the Alagura of Agura (Abeokuta).

The Governor asked the Oni whether the Elepe could be permitted to wear a crown if he now paid £50.

The Oni replied that all crowns were hereditary, and that a man could not wear a crown if his fathers before him had not put on a crown. The power vested in the Oni of Ife was to confirm the title to the right. All crowns were hereditary.

The Council then gave their opinions one by one, and of these we quote two or three.

AIBU LEMOMU :—Many thanks to the Governor for his labours for the advancement of the country. In all things let the Governor be just. His justice would go farther than even his kindness. Let him decide this matter justly as he is wont to do.

OGBOGUN :—We are very much thankful to the Oni. This sort of matter brings trouble. The strong man crowns himself and brings on war. This matter is in such a case. It is well

known that only the Oni can issue crowns. Ife is the cradle of our race. All power and authority come from Ife.

CHIEF AROMIRE :—His Excellency has done a great thing in bringing the Oni down to Lagos. This is a wonderful thing. We never expected it. But the matter for which he is come is very important and is very weighty. It is worth the while of the Oni to have come down to enlighten us on such a great question. In former times, before the days of British rule, such a dispute might have ended in war. The Oni is our greatest authority on this subject. . . . It is the same with our white caps. According to ancient custom no one has a right to put them on except the White Cap Chiefs. I am sorry to see that the Elepe has put himself in such an evil case. He has no right to wear a crown.

CHIEF ELETU :—We are much thankful to the Governor for inviting the Oni of Ife to Lagos. The Elepe wished to throw a black cloth over our face that we should not be able to see ; and it was left to the Oni to lift up this veil. The Elepe has no case. He is fallen. We leave him to the mercy of the Governor.

It was decided that the Elepe should pay a fine of £100.

In replying to the Governor the Oni urged that the "shoes of beads," the crown and the gown should also be taken from the Elepe, and added that in former times the head of the Elepe would have been cut off with the crown on it.

The Governor asked several questions touching the history and character of native crowns.

The Oni informed His Excellency that his crown was about two hundred years old. It was not the custom for every succeeding ruler to have a new crown, but the successor could renew the beads of the old crown or add fresh beads to it. The crown was considered sacred, and sacrifices were offered to it. Whenever he put on his crown he killed a sheep, and, whenever an Oba got a crown, it was the custom to offer to it what sacrifices seemed fitting to the Oba. If a man who was not entitled to wear a crown committed the sacrilege of wearing one, the fetish of the crown would kill him. He would die within a year. The Oni said he would not be surprised if the Elepe died within a year for the sacrilege he had committed. But, if after a man

had committed a sacrilege in wearing a crown, he was sorry for his sin, restored the crown, and offered the necessary sacrifices for appeasing the wrath of the god, he might live. The offering should consist of a goodly looking sheep and a ram.

The Governor hereupon said that he hoped the Elepe's life would be safe if the fine inflicted on him was paid, and if a sheep and a ram were sent to the Oni for sacrifice.

The Oni continuing said that a certain man named Olubode, presuming on his wealth, wished for a crown. He was warned not to attempt to put one on. He took presents to Ife, and had a small crown made for him. The very day that he put it on, his mouth was turned round to the back of his head and he died. The Oni promised to offer sacrifices for the Elepe that he should not die. He said he himself offered sacrifices when he was at Ibadan, and had now five sheep left at Ibadan for the sacrifices during his return journey. In answer to His Excellency, he stated that the office of carrying the crown was confined to a distinguished family, and His Excellency informed him that the same custom prevailed in England.—[ED.]

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE

NO more valuable work has been undertaken during recent years in the service of the Empire, and, to put it on a wider basis, in the cause of humanity, than that which is being done at the School in connection with the Seamen's Hospital at the Victoria Docks, London.

Merely from a business point of view the study of tropical diseases is of profound importance to the Empire. Could we but reduce the dangers to life and health which at present exist in many of our Colonies and Dependencies, not only would the enormous cost of administration be infinitely lessened, but there would be an outlook of the brightest prosperity for countries which at present have but a gloomy prospect owing to the terrible ravages of diseases now existing.

Take for instance the case of West Africa, which is only typical of many other equally unhealthy regions. The Government is bound to offer very expensive inducements for men to take up official positions on the Coast. Not only must salaries be twice as much, or more, as for similar offices in less dangerous localities, but six months' leave must be given for every twelve months' service, so that one man on double pay does half the work that might otherwise be expected from him. Then too the dangers are so great and the mortality so terrible that many good men will not face the risk however much the inducement, and of those who do many are cut off when their work has but just begun.

The same drawbacks of course prevent the progress of trade and the opening up of regions of immense promise in natural resources. The White Man's Grave exacts its yearly toll and the Empire pays the price. As a mere commercial asset such

an institution as the London School of Tropical Medicine deserves a national support if it helps to minimise the great tropical scourges. Until quite recent years medical men going out to tropical countries laboured under the immense disadvantage of having made no scientific study, and of having no previous experience, of the diseases they were called upon to combat. They worked completely in the dark, unable to diagnose the symptoms of cases brought under their notice, knowing nothing of the causes of these strange maladies, and therefore of course incompetent to prescribe the proper treatment.

It was a happy suggestion of Mr. Chamberlain's that a school should be established in connection with the Seamen's Hospital for the purpose of scientific research into the origin of tropical diseases, and for the study of their treatment and prevention ; and the greatest credit is due to Dr. Patrick Manson for his energy and enthusiasm in establishing the School and bringing it to a high state of efficiency. Since its inauguration in 1899 much good work has been done, and its existence is fully justified by its success.

The situation of the Hospital in close proximity to the Victoria Docks is eminently suitable for the purpose of the School, there being a constant influx of patients from tropical countries who provide the requisite material for research work and clinical study. Lascars, Negroes, Chinese, and other natives suffering from tropical diseases are willing to come to the Seamen's Hospital when it would be difficult, and even impossible, to induce them to go to other places at a greater distance from the Docks, owing to their natural prejudices and suspicions against journeying away from the immediate neighbourhood of their vessels. Therefore although the situation of the School is a little inaccessible to students living in the West End and suburbs of London, it is the only one in which tropical diseases could be studied under favourable conditions.

Provisions have been made, too, for a small number of residential students, and these have every advantage of studying the progress of a case on the spot, from the moment it is brought to the Hospital. The fact that the School adjoins the Hospital enables a student to be immediately notified of a new arrival,

so that he may at once get his appliances from the laboratory and proceed to investigation.

A good deal of the students' time is spent on bacteriological and microscopic research. It has been proved beyond a doubt that most tropical diseases are caused by parasites. It is still commonly believed that natives of tropical countries are injuriously affected by the meteorological conditions of the climates they live in, but this is not so any more than in the case of people in more temperate climates whose constitutions are adapted to their surroundings. In each case disease must have a specific cause, and in nearly all cases the cause is a germ, and commonly a parasite. The reason that some tropical diseases do not readily find their way into European countries and *vice versa*, is that the disease parasite is unable to live in a higher or lower temperature than it has been accustomed to, and is killed in passing from one body to another under different climatic conditions.

Then too, as Dr. Manson says, "many diseases require for their transmission from one individual to another the services of a third and wholly different animal. The propagation and continued existence of disease of this description will depend, therefore, on the presence of the third animal. If the latter be a tropical species, the disease for whose transmission it is necessary must necessarily be confined to the tropics."

For instance the tsetse fly carries on its mandibles the organism which, conveyed from the body of one animal to another, is the direct cause of that abominable scourge the "fly disease." The geographical distribution of the disease is therefore determined by the presence of the tsetse fly.

The comparatively recent discovery that malaria is due to a parasitic organism conveyed to man through the instrumentality of mosquitoes has been proved conclusively by microscopic research, which revealed that whenever a certain germ was present in the human blood the person sooner or later developed malarial fever, also that the phases of the fever bear a definite relationship to the life development of the parasite, showing that when the fever is abated by the taking of quinine the parasite rapidly disappears; and following on these facts it is shown that in the salivary glands of mosquitoes which have

imbibed malarial blood the parasite freely propagates its kind, and that a man bitten by such a mosquito develops malarial fever in due course, the parasite being exhibited in his blood. "Therefore," to quote Dr. Manson again, "the proof of the causal relationship of the parasite to the disease may now be said to be complete."

Discoveries of this nature are of almost incalculable importance and such an institution as the London School of Tropical Medicine is doing a magnificent work in the cause of science in tracking down the many varieties of parasitic insects and other means by which the diseases are conveyed from one body to another.

Many different forms of malarial disease, such as the newly discovered disease Tripanosomiasis, and other scourges, including the terrible sleeping sickness which has spread so rapidly in Tropical Africa, Filariasis Nocturna, Elephantiasis, Yellow Fever, etc., have been conclusively proved by Drs. Low, Durham, Castellani and other students of the London School, to be passed from man to man by the agency of mosquito bites.

Already there are five hundred varieties of mosquito known, and each has to be studied in its bearings upon the origin of the many diseases which are still more or less of a mystery.

Dr. Low, the present superintendent of the School, has done especially good work in the field of research, and conducted a most interesting series of experiments in the malarial districts of Italy. The old theory that the fever was caused by mosquitoes dying in water which was drunk by men who thus contracted the malady has been entirely disproved, and it has been demonstrated that the fever is caused by the direct inoculation of man by the mosquito bite itself.

The Italian government has now taken the precaution of building mosquito houses for workmen on the railway, etc., with the effect of reducing the death-rate to an astonishing extent. It is to be hoped that our own Government will profit by the example. The lessons taught by the researches of the London School should be followed up by practical efforts and reforms, such as the filling up of swamps in proximity to a working population, the use of mosquito houses and nets, the avoidance of mosquito areas for military camps, and other precautions.

It is of course difficult, indeed impossible, to get away from the insect altogether. Sir Harry Johnston has pointed out to the writer that in spite of the utmost precautions, such as always sleeping under nets, he has never succeeded in avoiding the mosquito bite with its accompanying result of fever. Nevertheless, as we have seen from Dr. Low's Italian experience, it is possible greatly to minimise the risks, and it is certainly the first step in the prevention of the disease to have a clear knowledge of its cause.

The London School of Tropical Medicine is not wholly devoted to research work, but its students are able to go through a thorough course of clinical practice in the adjoining hospital.

Tropical diseases depend almost entirely on treatment for the prevention of fatal effects. That is how inexperienced medical men in the tropics are bound to fail with many cases brought under their notice because, unable to diagnose a case from its early symptoms, they do not prescribe the proper treatment by which alone the safety of the patient may be ensured.

In the case of Sprue for instance, a malignant form of diarrhoea, it is essential that the treatment should be undertaken at an early stage and be thoroughly and intelligently carried out. In this case success is nearly always certain, but if undertaken at too late a period when the glands and surface of the alimentary canal have been destroyed, the case is sure to end fatally. Milk and meat diet combined with warmth and rest are the two most successful methods of treating Sprue, and if they fail the chances of recovery are poor indeed.

So also in the horrible disease of Beri-Beri, which is frequently accompanied by cardiac trouble, it is necessary for the patient to be kept in bed or heart failure will assuredly result. A strict attention to diet, clothing, and ventilation is equally necessary if success is to be hoped for.

The treatment of Yellow Fever is also much more a matter of nursing than drugs, and the same may be said of dysentery and the many forms of filariasis.

It will be seen therefore that if medical men wish to combat these tropical scourges they must be able to quickly diagnose the case and have a thorough knowledge of the clinical methods

to be pursued. Therein lies the value of the London School of Tropical Medicine, where three times a week the students hear the lectures and where they may watch the development of cases of the great tropical diseases. The latest report of the School, up to January 1903, shows the following list of the more important tropical diseases since the opening of the School.

Acute Malaria	128	Blackwater Fever	6
Chronic Malaria	23	Plague	4
Dysentery	101	Malta Fever	9
Beri-Beri	76	Hepatitis	10
Liver Abscess	16	Bilharzia	11
Leprosy	6	Tripanosomiasis	1
Guinea Worm	17	Sprue	6
Filariasis	8		<hr/> 421

It is encouraging to learn that the advantages which accrue to the patient by being treated in a hospital where these diseases are made the subject of special study, have caused great increase in the number of tropical cases applying for admission.

The patients include officials in Government and other services, as well as missionaries and private patients, in addition to the ordinary rank and file of British and foreign seamen.

It is interesting to see from the list of students who have passed through the school since it was established in 1899 that already these specially trained men are scattered over practically the whole tropical world. Some idea of the interest and enthusiasm which the students have displayed in their work may be gathered from the fact that their average attendance at lectures and demonstrations has been over 90 per cent. They have been drawn from all branches of the profession, including medical officers of the Royal Navy, the Home and Indian Armies, Colonial Service, Foreign Office Service, Missionary Societies, Railways, Trading and Mining Corporations, Private Practitioners and members of foreign government services and universities.

The British Government is now very sensibly making it an essential qualification for medical officials in tropical countries to have passed through the London School, and there is no doubt that the Empire will gain enormously by this distribution

of qualified men. It is a pity however that this admirable institution should be to a certain extent crippled by want of funds. In spite of the contributions of the Colonial and Foreign Offices to the funds of the School, the work could be extended considerably if more money were at the disposal of the committee of management. It would surely be worth while, and should certainly arouse the generosity of great trading companies with immense interests in the East, to come forward and endow a school which is doing such a noble work, of incalculable benefit to themselves.

In 1901 the Committee of Management deputed Sir Francis Lovell (now Dean of the School) to proceed to tropical and other countries, where diseases peculiar to hot climates prevail, with the object of obtaining support for the School from wealthy residents in the East. This mission proved highly satisfactory, in so far that it enabled the Committee to proceed with some of the more urgently needed extensions of the School premises—this being in great measure due to the splendid donation of a lakh of rupees (equal to £6,600) made to the School by the Hon. Mr. Bomanji Dinshaw Petit, a philanthropic Parsee gentleman residing in Bombay. In addition to the funds actually collected by Sir Francis, annual subsidies from the Government of Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, and Hong Kong, have been secured to the School.

This money however has been insufficient to meet the needs of the School for considerable extension of premises, a portion of which is now in construction, but which, we understand, will leave the School in debt. These improvements are essential if any progress is to be made. Hitherto the residential accommodation has been limited to seven, but when the new buildings are completed there will be room for twice the number. Also the throwing out of a new wing will provide another laboratory equal in size to the one now existing, as well as a very necessary Lecture Theatre which has so far been lacking to the staff. In the latest Report of the School Committee the following interesting statements occur which sum up the needs and hopes of the institution.

“Probably, for the purpose of these improvements, so far as buildings are concerned, a sum of £10,000 would be sufficient,

part only of which has been raised, but in addition it is to be emphasised that the School as a whole needs endowment. There is perhaps no department of medical science, which, if properly fostered and cultivated, is capable of conferring on humanity greater advantages than that of Tropical Medicine, and it is not too much to hope that the School may be endowed to the extent of £100,000 at least. England was the first country to take up seriously the teaching and investigation of Tropical diseases, and it would be a grievous pity if, for the want of money, she had to take a second place. Considering how enormously her interests in Tropical countries predominate over those of other nations, surely the comparatively insignificant but necessary funds will be forthcoming."

This is by no means an unreasonable claim. If the work of the School is to be developed as much as it deserves it is very desirable that travelling scholarships should be endowed, similar to the "Craggs Research Scholarship" provided by Mr. J. C. Craggs, which enabled Dr. Low to spend six months in the Roman Campagna conducting important experiments for the prevention of malaria, afterwards, to make a tour in the West Indies for researches in filariasis, and later to become a member of the Commission appointed by the Royal Society to investigate the cause of the fatal sleeping sickness spreading so rapidly through Africa.

To all medical men, to every intelligent citizen of the Empire, the work of the London School of Tropical Medicine must appeal with considerable fascination. The field of medical research in European countries is to a large extent mapped out in detail, and although there is plenty of scope for further discovery at the very top of the field so to speak, the greater part is well-trodden and familiar ground. But every student of tropical diseases may be a Columbus, and set out for New Worlds. Tropical medicine is still, very largely, unexplored territory. And the immense importance of even the smallest addition to knowledge in this respect lends an excitement to the quest. Tropical diseases are such widespread scourges, spreading over so many thousands of miles of Eastern lands with extraordinary virulence and afflicting so many millions of the world's inhabitants, that to track one of these maladies to its source so

that its origin may be prevented, or at least its effects minimised, is a work which all civilised people should watch with admiration, and encourage with practical help.

PHILIP GIBBS.

A lecture on Tropical Diseases delivered at Glasgow (November 12, 1902) by Sir William MacGregor, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.D., LL.D., D.Sc., Governor of the Colony of Lagos, has been printed in the Government Gazette of that Colony for February 14, 1903. An extract from this illustrates the need and the value of detailed study both of diseases and of native and European remedies :—

“It is hardly possible to avoid here a brief notice of the much-feared blackwater fever. As already mentioned, it seems to be now and then connected with the irregular administration of heroic doses of quinine. That it may occur without any such inciting cause I have had experience in my own person, for I had not tasted quinine for many months before I had my one attack. Unfortunately, the nature and treatment of this malady remain still in an undetermined condition. Some authorities seem to think it is not really of malarial origin. I may state my own views briefly. I served first in the Seychelles Islands. There we had no malaria, no blackwater ; then in Mauritius, where we had malaria and blackwater ; then in Fiji, where there was neither malaria nor blackwater. My next abode was British New Guinea, with malaria and blackwater ; and my present residence is Lagos, where again we have both. Naturally, therefore, I incline to the opinion that blackwater is malarial ; and I shall very likely lean to that view till I know of some place where blackwater occurs without malaria. Formerly it was common in Holland, but now the only malarial fever there is mild tertian. According to Dr. Schoo, the population of Holland was, in 1886, 4,336,072, with 103,046 deaths, of which 306 were from malaria and 136 from perniciosa.

“In Italy it is not met with, or is uncommon, in the higher situated tertian areas. In places like Lagos, where the aestivo-autumnal type is common and endemic, it is far from rare. There is no fixed treatment. The most successful known to me is that introduced by Dr. Gouzien, late Chief Medical

Officer for Dahomey, for an account of which I am indebted to M. le Docteur Kermorgant, Inspecteur-Général de Santé des Colonies Françaises.

"This consists essentially in the subcutaneous injection of a standard saline solution, 7 grams of sea-salt to 1,000 of water. In mild cases from 4 to 6 enemata, each of 200 grams of this solution, may be given in 24 hours. If this does not succeed, then the more rapid and efficacious subcutaneous injections are employed, each of from 100 to 300 grams. They are practised in the hypogastric region. The rule is to give one of these a day. They have never required more than four in any one case. Dr. Gouzien administers at the same time a native remedy, an infusion from the leaves of *Cassia occidentalis*, 15 grams of the leaves to 1,000 of sweetened water, of which from 1 to 3 litres a day may be given.

"The records of the Sanitary Department of Dahomey show that fifty-three successive cases were cured by this treatment. It is painful, but certainly seems efficacious.

"It appears that Dr. Strachan, Chief Medical Officer of Lagos, suggested, some years ago, the use of saline enemata in the treatment of blackwater. Salicylate of soda seems to be given for this disease in some parts of West Africa. In New Guinea the treatment was always small doses of quinine and antifebrine, with nitrate of potassium and other diuretics. It was as successful as any treatment known to me with the exception of the subcutaneous saline injections of Dr. Gouzien. It should be added that Dr. O'Sullivan-Beare has cured five cases by a native remedy of the East Coast, a decoction from the root of a small tree, the *Cassia Bearana*. Each of these native cassia remedies should be carefully investigated.

"In extreme cases one would think that intravenous injection of a saline solution should be tried ; and if there has been great destruction of the red corpuscles, one cannot but believe that recourse should be had to the transfusion of blood, as used to be so frequently practised for other ailments some years ago in Australia. It may well be that transfusion of blood has been tried in grave cases of blackwater fever, but I have not heard of such treatment."

OPENING UP OF CENTRAL AFRICA FROM THE EAST COAST

MAJOR SPILSBURY, under the above heading in the April number of the *Journal of the African Society*, advocates the new route to the Lake Nyasa overland *via* Pemba Bay in preference to the Zambezi-Shire route.

For one who has used or is using the route which Major Spilsbury advocates, hundreds have come and gone by the Zambezi-Shire route.

In no spirit of opposition—for every fresh gate into Central Africa means a new opening for the entrance of light and peace and civilisation into the heart of the Dark Continent—but from a simple desire to do justice to those who have opened up that great highway into the interior of the continent, I propose to set before your readers the many advantages which the old route has conferred and is still conferring on the inhabitants of the Lake Regions of Central Africa.

A word as to its history. It was discovered by Livingstone in 1856, when he entered by the Kongoni mouth of the Zambezi River, and sailed his small craft up the Zambezi and Shire as far as the Murchison cataracts. Livingstone left the country in 1864, and nothing further was done until 1875, when the pioneer parties of the Scotch missions at Livingstonia and Blantyre built the *Ilala* at the Kongoni mouth, sailed in her up the river to the foot of the Murchison cataracts, pulled her to pieces, carried her over the cataracts, put her together again at their head, sailed up the upper waters of the Shire, and on the 12th October of the same year steamed into the Lake. Next, a road was made by the two missions between the foot of the cataracts and their head past Blantyre—a distance of

sixty miles. And so the river route was established by the enterprise of the Scotch Churches.

But the difficulties of the passage into the Zambezi by the Kongoni mouth were believed to be so great that the Quilimane River was for several years used as the means of transport from the ocean to the Zambezi. This however involved the necessity of land carriage of goods and passengers over land from the Kwakwa to the Zambezi, a distance of three miles. In 1879 the African Lakes Company placed a small steamer on the Zambezi and the Lower Shire rivers, thus facilitating the traffic between Blantyre and the Coast. In 1883 the Lake route was extended by the making of the Stevenson Road from Lake Nyasa to Tanganyika across the Plateau, and in the following year the London Missionary Society launched their steamer the *Good News*, thus completing the line of communication between the coast and the north end of Tanganyika.

In August 1888 the difficulty of the entrance into the Zambezi from the sea was overcome by the discovery of the Chinde mouth of that river. This was first entered officially by Consul Johnston, now Sir Harry Johnston, in the following year. Afterwards in 1890 the river was declared by treaty an international highway open to the flags and craft of all nations.

This route may be divided into five sections:—(1) from Chinde to Chiromo on the Lower Shire; (2) from Chiromo to Lake Nyasa overland by Blantyre, a distance of nearly two hundred miles; (3) from the south to the north end of Lake Nyasa; (4) overland across the Tanganyika Plateau, a distance of over two hundred miles; (5) and lastly, from the south to the north end of Tanganyika.

(1) The Chinde River is the main navigable mouth of the great Zambezi Delta. Its mouth is closed by a bar which shows a depth of from 15 to 21 feet at spring tides. Vessels of from 400 to 1,400 tons can easily pass in and out at high spring tides. Two shipping companies at present send steamers into the river—the Aberdeen Line, Messrs. J. T. Rennie and Sons, which sends two vessels twice a month from Durban over the bar into the Chinde river, and the German East African Line, whose large ocean liners call off the bar and tranship their

passengers into a small tug which lands them at their destination, while the cargo is transhipped at Beira into barges and towed round to Chinde, a distance of twenty four hours. For suitable vessels, such as the *Induna* owned by Messrs. Rennie, the bar presents no difficulty. Such a vessel running between Beira and Chinde twice a month would easily overtake the traffic of the latter port, and that of Quilimane as well.

Inside the Chinde river there is excellent anchorage for vessels of any size within a few yards of the beach. Goods for British Central Africa are landed on the British Concession—a piece of ground leased from the Portuguese authorities as a bonded store for the traffic up country—and are then passed up river without any dues save those of the British authorities, which at present consist of a small wharfage payment. From Chinde there is a clear run of 300 miles to Chiromo for the greater part of the year. In very dry seasons, such as the present, the river is very low, and steamers cannot get beyond Port Herald, some eight hours below Chiromo. Sand banks obstruct the channel of the river, but the use of a small dredger, at little cost, would remove these, and allow a free waterway all the year round between Chiromo and the sea.

To show the use made of this route, we need only mention the number of traffic companies and their craft at present working up and down the Zambezi-Shire waterway.

<i>Company.</i>	<i>Steamers.</i>
The African Lakes Corporation	9
Sharrer's Zambezi Traffic Company	5
African Flotilla Company	4
Companha da Zambesia	2
Deuss, Teixeira and Company	1

In addition to these, there are two British and several Portuguese gunboats plying up and down the river from Chinde to Chiromo.

(2) The second section of the route is that from Chiromo to Lake Nyasa *viâ* Blantyre. At present the traffic on this section is worked by means of light draught steamers on the river from Chiromo to Katunga's, thence, by means of native porters, waggons, carts, &c., to Matope or Pimbi on the Upper Shire, and thence again by steamer to Fort Johnston at the south end of

Lake Nyasa. In the dry season the river from Chiromo to Katunga's presents considerable difficulties to the passage of steamers and barges, and the want of carriers causes frequent delays to the land carriage between Katunga's and the upper Shire. But a good road has now been made between these two places, and the use of ox traffic has been resorted to by the companies instead of the old method of native portage, while the African Lakes Corporation has introduced with success the use of traction engines.

These difficulties will, however, receive a satisfactory solution in the construction of the railway between Chiromo and the lake which the home Government has just sanctioned. By this means all the more serious obstacles which this part of the route has hitherto presented will be removed, and the position of this route into British Central Africa consolidated as the Great Highway into the interior of the Continent.

(3) The traffic on Lake Nyasa is carried on by means of steamers. Two belong to the African Lakes Corporation, one to the German Government, one to the Telegraph Company, while the British Central Africa Administration owns two gun-boats, and the Universities Mission has three steam craft plying along the east shore. One sailing vessel is owned by the Zambezi Traffic Company. These vessels make periodical sailings between Fort Johnston and the north end of the Lake at Katunga's, so that a connection is always made with the traffic coming from the south and passing into the interior.

(4) The fourth section of the route lies across the Tanganyika Plateau—a distance of over two hundred miles. Over this runs the Stevenson road, made many years ago by Mr. James Stevenson, of Largs, and since then very considerably improved by the various authorities who have had the control of the country. This road is fit for waggon traffic for the most part of the way, but up to the present the bulk of the carriage has been done by means of native porters. Along this way pass goods and passengers for the Luapula and Congo Free State, as well as for the British and German stations on the Tanganyika lake.

(5) The last section is that of the Lake Tanganyika which is traversed by steamers of the Tanganyika Concessions Company, the African Lakes Corporation, and the German Government.

From the north end of Tanganyika the distance to the Victoria Nyanza is only a little over one hundred and fifty miles, and the route by that way is being opened up by the Tanganyika Concessions Company, so that it will soon be possible to touch the Nile route and bring it into connection with the waterway I have been trying to describe.

Thus we have already established a route into the interior that has for twenty-seven years been the sole highway into British and Portuguese Central Africa. It runs through long established centres of trade such as Chinde, Chiromo, Blantyre, Zomba, Fort Johnston and Katunga's. It passes through a territory that has been peaceably occupied by the British Administration. It further possesses the merit—no inconsiderable one, as the history of African development has shown—of being approached by an international highway, so that British goods and traffic can be carried from London all the way by water, and landed in British territory, subject only to such dues as the British authorities may impose. On the other hand, the proposed route from Pemba Bay passes through Portuguese territory, and consequently renders all traffic subject to the customs, dues, and restrictions which the Portuguese authorities may impose. Between these two conditions there is no room for doubt.

REV. ALEXANDER HETHERWICK, M.A., D.D.

Blantyre Mission,
British Central Africa.

LITERARY NOTES

Die Europäischen Kolonien, by Dr. Alfred Zimmerman. (Berlin, E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1896—1903.)

FOR the first time since 1774, when the Abbé Raynal published his famous work on the East and West Indies, a history of the results of European Colonization up to the present period has been offered to the world by Dr. Zimmerman. The Author, who for the past two years has been attached to the German Embassy in London has devoted much time to the study of Colonial history for the purpose of giving the German Colonial administration an opportunity of judging the methods and results of the principal Colonial powers. He has utilized for his work the immense literature published by the various nations, and has put the results of his researches before the public in five clear and well-written volumes. In the first he treats of the development of the Portuguese and Spanish colonization up to 1896. After perusing its pages the reader understands how it became possible that the once so powerful and proud Spanish Empire could have declined so rapidly and been so easily lost. The second and third volumes are devoted to the history of British colonization, for which system Dr. Zimmermann confesses a fervent admiration. In the fourth volume the Author treats of the history of France's Colonial policy ; in the fifth, of the development of the Dutch Colonial possessions up to the present time. As yet there is no work in the English language so complete and reliable on this subject, and we recommend this useful book to the attention of every man interested in Colonial affairs, and hope that an English translation will be published.

Compagnies et Sociétés Coloniales Allemandes, by P. Decharme. (Paris, Masson et Cie, 1903.)

The movement which prevailed for some years amongst the leading spirits of the French Colonial party to create Colonial

Companies similar to the late British and Dutch East India Companies has led the Author to study the experiences of Germany. As is well known, Prince Bismarck was no great friend to Colonial enterprise. When he agreed to the wishes of some merchants, missionaries, and travellers for the acquisition of German Protectorates in Africa and the Pacific, he did it only under the condition that not the Empire, but Chartered Companies should manage the Colonies. The experiences of Germany with these companies have been very unfavourable, but there existed until now no reliable history of these enterprises. Monsieur Decharme, who is a member of the French Colonial Office, has taken the trouble to fill this void by an earnest study of all existing sources. His book is therefore of great interest not only to German readers, but to all students interested in Colonial questions.

The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik, by G. F. H. Berkeley. (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 2, Whitehall Gardens, Westminster.)

To those who make a study of African problems of the day, Mr. Berkeley's book will be read with great interest: to the student of campaigns the lessons to be learnt by a careful study of it are of vast importance. The sources from which the author has collected his material have not generally speaking been available to English readers.

A book that gives full particulars of the annihilation of a European army of about twenty thousand men by a native African race cannot fail to interest.

Station Studies, by Lionel Portman. (Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, and Bombay.)

Gives a very good insight into the day's work of an official at a British Government Station in the interior of Africa. The writer tells how he collects fees for gun licences and traders' licences, deposits on their porters, and custom duties, besides road dues, then throws aside the rôle of collector and becomes a judge. His account of a day's shooting is very interesting. The author at times gets a little satirical, but the book is pleasant reading.

LIST OF MEMBERS

† = Life Members.

* = Original Members.

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- *†ANDERSON, The Hon. Lady, Tannheim, Bournemouth.
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- 1902 BAILLAUD, Emile, Observatoire de Toulouse, Haute Garonne, France.
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- *HADDON, A. C., M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S. (Council), Inisfail, Hill Road, Cambridge.
- 1902†HALDANE, The Rt. Hon. Richard Burdon, P.C., K.C., M.P., LL.D., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W.
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- *SCHENCK, Mrs. Theodor, Mansfield Cottage, Hunstanton, Norfolk.
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- 1902 WALLIS-COX, James, 22, Barrowgate Road, Chiswick, W.
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- 1902 WATTS, Walter, Agent-General, The Niger Company, Limited, The Limes, London Road, Retford, Nottinghamshire.
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- 1902 WILSON, George, C.B., F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I., H.M. Deputy Commissioner, Uganda Protectorate, Entebbe, Uganda, *vid* Mombasa, East Africa.
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- DARKER, G. F., Barrister-at-Law, M.R.C.S.Eng., L.R.C.P.Lond., 2, Middle Temple Lane, E.C.
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- MEYER, Ernst Otto, Deutsch-Westafrikanische Handelsgesellschaft, Hamburg.
- OLOFF, E., Bremen.
- QUILLIAM, Abdullah, B.A., S.S.C. (Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles, Persian Consul at Liverpool), 6, Manchester Street, Liverpool.
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- WHITEHOUSE, Alfred Ashmall (Travelling Commissioner, Southern Nigeria), 214, Wellington Road, Birchfield, Birmingham.

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- MAXWELL, John, District Commissioner, The Castle, Sekondi, West Africa.
- RENNER, William, M.D., Medical Officer, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- TAYLOR, Rev. Samuel I., Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
- TUBOKU-METZGER, A. E., Kissy, Sierra Leone, West Africa.

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OBITUARY

It is with deep regret we have to record the death of Dr. WILLIAM HENRY CROSSE, F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., one of the original members of this Society, who passed away at his residence, 37, Albemarle Street, London, on the 24th of February, at the early age of forty-five.

From 1886 to 1895 he was the Principal Medical Officer of the Royal Niger Company on the West Coast of Africa, during which time his untiring devotion to his patients was such that he was regarded by them not only as their physician but as their friend.

Since his return from Africa in 1895 he practised in the West End of London. He was the author of several works upon Malarial and Blackwater fever.

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FOUNDED IN MEMORY OF
MARY KINGSLEY



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1903

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[Frontispiece.]

THE WHALE-HEADED STORK: *Baleniceps rex*.

JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

NO. VIII. JULY

1903

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, SESSION 1903-4.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

THE WORK OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

YOU have done me the honour to elect me as President of the African Society for the ensuing year. I have had very distinguished statesmen as predecessors—Lord Ripon, one of the most notable of English Viceroys over India and a Secretary of State for the Colonies of unusual ability and judgment. Lord Avebury, the retiring President, will probably be known best in popular history as St. Lubbock, who contributed to the British Statute Book, the corner-stone in the happiness of the overworked, the enforced holiday which occurs five times a year. But Lord Avebury has been brilliant in many fields, and not the least latterly in bringing home to us the fascinating geographical interest of our own country. In his admirable address on Africa

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given a year ago he summed up the recent history of Africa and of European efforts to civilize that continent. I shall not attempt to follow him in that direction. My efforts will be directed to the enumeration of the unsolved problems, the fields of study which Africa presents for our consideration.

It is conceivable of course that the African Society may fail to meet with that measure of support from the British public which should make it an institution of great usefulness; on the other hand, properly supported it might be the means of gathering together and disseminating a knowledge of Africa in all its aspects which would be of the greatest usefulness to those who are interested in Africa—scientifically, politically, philanthropically, and commercially. The African Society should be essentially non-political, in the sense that it should eschew any reference to party politics in Great Britain, or even a national bias in discussing the work in Africa of other European nations. It should seek to serve the interests of the black and the yellow man as well as of the white man. Above all, it should aim at acquiring and imparting a knowledge of Africa which may be useful to all races and to future generations as well as to the men and women of to-day. I earnestly hope that whether or not we attract fresh subscribers we shall enlist the services of many contributors from all parts of Africa to our quarterly Journal.

What we want for this Journal is sound information, given without unnecessary verbiage or worn-out generalizations. Articles tinged with strong religious or political bias or articles that are elaborately facetious are not of course welcomed, unless at any rate they contain new and valuable information. There is no need for workers in Africa to wait until they can compile a regular ten-page article: they need not hesitate to write half a page if that space will contain all the new information they can give on any African topic. We have, as it is, to express warm thanks to several of our recent contributors, especially to those who have sent articles dealing with unknown or little known African languages. Our Society hopes to include within its scope every subject connected with the continent of Africa—Egyptology, Greek and Roman antiquities in North Africa studies of the remarkable Berber or Libyan peoples so closely

allied to the Caucasian races of Europe, contributions to the anthropology and ethnology of the uncounted tribes of Negroes dwelling between Senegambia on the west and the Blue Nile on the east, between Lake Chad on the north and Cape Colony on the south ; African languages—Semitic, Hamitic, Libyan, Nigritic, Nilotic, Bantu, Hottentot, and Bushman ; African diseases of man and beast ; African zoology, and African botany. We want to gather up and perpetuate oral traditions as to the past history of African tribes and dynasties before these traditions are rapidly forgotten in the spreading blaze of European civilization. In like manner we earnestly desire to garner all the facts that can be collected as to vanishing religions and social customs. We hope to collect information on the best methods of administering the backward African, the best and fairest means of developing his scarcely-developed continent.

There is amongst many other mighty questions awaiting solution that most complicated, important problem as to the acclimatization of man and beast. We are beginning to realize that most of those fatal diseases to which man, the horse, the ox, sheep and poultry succumb in Africa are due to bacilli or other micro-organisms of a deleterious kind introduced into the system of the animal by various agencies, chiefly mosquitoes and ticks. What we have not as yet grasped is : (a) how to cure these diseases when they are irrevocably started ; (b) how to inoculate or inure human beings and domestic animals to diseases which cannot be extirpated : (c) how to get at the cause of the malady or the agency of its transmission and if possible destroy such cause or agency. Here is one instance, amongst many, of this troublesome problem of regional disease. In one newly opened up district of inner Africa which we will call X cattle are introduced, thrive on the herbage, but after a few months show signs of distress and are soon swept off almost to complete extirpation by some mysterious disease. This malady is certainly one that is carried by a tick, a fly, or a gnat ; and the germs are injected by one of these agents into the systems of these newly imported cattle from out of the neighbouring buffaloes and antelopes. The settlers rapidly kill off the wild game, a few survivors of the imported cattle that have withstood the disease begin to breed, and the race shows signs of becoming

in time immune to the mysterious malady. Then some one thinks to strengthen the local stock by the importation of well established domestic cattle from a district we will call Z. These cattle in the course of centuries or decades have gradually become inured to the presence in their blood or in their organs of some other bacillus, amoeba, or micrococcus. But the cattle at X communicate to the new arrivals from Z the disease from which the predecessors of the X cattle were suffering. The X cattle in turn prove susceptible to the malady which has ceased to produce fatal effects in the cattle of Z. The result is that both the stocks of cattle are nearly if not quite extirpated by this unfortunate conjunction. When I was in the Uganda Protectorate I found as a rule that if one brought down the splendid long-horned breed of Ankole cattle from the Ankole plateau to the lower-lying country of Uganda they died sooner or later, while the cattle brought up from the lake regions to the cool mountainous country on either side of the Victoria Nyanza also fell a victim to various diseases. In the same way, strange to relate, Negroes suffer from migration. The Negro born in Uganda seldom falls ill from ordinary malarial fever, and probably never has that intense form of malaria known as "Black-water" (*Hæmoglobinuria*). But if this native of Uganda crosses Lake Victoria Nyanza and enters the Unyamwezi countries to the south he is almost as subject to malarial fever and to black-water as a European.

Africa has been said by some disheartened philanthropist to be the last home of the Devil; it would certainly seem to be the great breeding ground for the various bacilli, amoebæ, parasitic worms, micrococci, or other minute organisms which cause disease. It was thought by authorities writing in the 'sixties of the last century that Yellow Fever, which has proved such a scourge to South and Central America, was originally a disease of Senegambia, brought over from West Africa to the West Indies by negro slaves. It is quite possible that this idea is correct, that the slaves brought over the organisms in their blood and found on arrival in tropical America mosquitoes ready and willing to act as the agency in infecting Indians and white men with this disease, generated originally in the blood of the black man. It is a remarkable fact that the mosquito

which acts as the agent in the transference of Yellow Fever germs from the blood of one human being to another is a world-wide species. It cannot however survive long sea voyages, but once improve and accelerate transit between tropical America and tropical Africa, and Yellow Fever, thanks to the services of this mosquito, may encircle the globe with a tropical belt of deadly disease. The Bubonic Plague is considered by some students of disease to have originated in Equatorial Africa, where it certainly seems to be endemic in a relatively mild form. It has been conjectured that it spread down the Nile to Egypt and thence to India, where it found a vast field for its energies. Small-pox is also thought to have originated in Africa. Sleeping Sickness is another African product [which thanks to the rapid way in which Africa is being opened up and transit between the West Coast and the East Coast facilitated] is now crossing the continent from west to east. It is supposed to be due to the presence in the blood of a rather large form of amoeba trypanosoma, and that it is communicated through the saliva. Africans generally eat in company, and put their hands into a common dish. Having gathered up a handful of food they stuff it into their mouths, and so transfer some of their infected saliva to the food which others are sharing.

That is the irony which attends our attempts to civilise Africa : the more we improve internal means of inter-communication, and thereby cause one race of Africans to mix with another, or negroes to mingle with white men or Indians ; the more we strive to introduce domestic animals or spread the cultivation of useful plants : equally do we raise up hosts of enemies in the shape of death-dealing bacilli, with whom as yet science is scarcely able to cope effectually. Yet no doubt Africa is only repeating to-day the history of which Europe and Asia (and to a much less degree America) went through in previous centuries or in prehistoric times. After seeing the devastation amongst wild game caused by the great cattle plagues which swept down the eastern half of Africa fifteen or twenty years ago, we can understand how easy it has been for Nature in past ages to sweep whole races of mammals off the face of the earth in South America or Australia long before man came on the scene

and where there may not have existed any carnivorous beasts sufficiently developed to destroy millions of horses or countless kangaroos of monstrous size. It is said indeed that nearly all cattle plagues originated in Africa. Certainly the point from which they have started to devastate Africa within the last twenty years may be focussed as the Dinka country, that considerable region of marsh and grassy plain which extends between the Sobat, the White Nile, and the Mountain Nile in the heart of the Egyptian Sudan. Here Schweinfurth noticed at the close of the 'sixties of the last century that the immense congeries of Dinka cattle seemed at frequent periods to generate plagues which spread far and wide to the west and south. Historically, I believe the cattle plagues of Europe and Asia first made their appearance in Egypt, no doubt from the direction of the Sudan.

Since we cannot leave Africa alone, and since moreover it is a continent which contains some seven million square miles out of eleven and a half millions of more or less fertile soil, well watered and within the tropics, and consequently a great food-producing area for the future—the science of the white man must now fix its attention on a battle with the microbe and the mosquito, the bacillus, the micrococcus ; the tick, the bug, and the flea—on the microscopical organism which produces the disease, and on the insect or arachnid which acts as the transmitting agency. No doubt the draining of marshes and the cutting down of extravagant herbage will do much to get rid of these insect inoculators.

Egyptology has as yet, I believe, no accredited home, no appropriate meeting-place for discussion in England. We might venture to hope that Egyptologists for this purpose may find the African Society of use to them. Egypt is part of Africa ; and although its ancient civilization is inextricably interwoven with that of the Mediterranean, of Greece and of nearer Asia, still the connection of Egypt with Negro Africa has been far-reaching in its effects. Or perhaps I should say that the main influence of Egypt on trans-Saharan Africa was exercised through the Hamitic races which at an earlier date radiated westwards from some original focus of development in Abyssinia or Somaliland.

This race, mainly of Caucasian stock but tinged with the blood of a darker people—Dravidian or Negro—introduced into tropical Africa the first domestic animals and plants, the two breeds of Asiatic oxen—that with the enormous horns which is ordinarily styled the Gala ox, and that with the hump, the Zebu or the “Brahmin bull.” Other Caucasians in very early times also attacked Negro Africa from the north-west and north, when the negroes were leading a life scarcely superior in culture to that of the Anthropoid Ape. These were the Libyans or Berbers or Iberians, a group of peoples distantly connected bodily, mentally, and linguistically with the Hamites of North-Eastern Africa. But these peoples having the Sahara Desert to cross at its worst, and without the short cut to Rainy Africa from Somaliland or the pathway through the desert created by the Nile, effected but little in the ancient humanising of the Negro as compared to what was done by the Hamitic peoples. Nevertheless we have in that remarkable hybrid race, the Fulas, in the more negroid Mandingos, and in such languages as the Hausa (a Libyan tongue which is a far-off ally of the Berber, Hamitic, and Sub-Semitic languages, though now spoken by pure Negroes) relics of the impact of the Moors of pre-Islamic days on the wild Negro savages of Nigeria and Senegambia.

It is now of the greatest interest and importance to us, having realized dimly this early work of the Caucasian in Northern Africa, to trace out its results. A careful study should be made of the existing dialects spoken in the borderlands of Abyssinia, in Somaliland and Galaland, and in the whole of the Egyptian Sudan. We find already traces of Gala influence in the vocabulary of many of the eastern Nile languages as far south as the southermost extension of the Masai language and as far west as the Bahr-al-Gazal. Into the same Negro tongues has penetrated from Somaliland or from Egypt the idea of sexual gender. This grammatical feature had even reached the ancestors of the Hottentots who once dwelt as an aboriginal pygmy race in Eastern Africa and there came into contact with the first invaders of the Caucasian stock coming from Galaland. These ancient Hamites probably imposed much of their own tongues on the East African Hottentots, just as the Pygmies of the Congo Forest to-day have no Pygmy language of their

own but speak in a more or less corrupt fashion the languages of the nearest Bantu, Momvu, or Mangbettu race. The Hottentots carried with them into Southern Africa the idea of dividing substantives into masculine, feminine, and neuter classes. This discrimination of gender also exists in a scarcely different form in the Masai group of languages at the present day, and even extends across the Nile into the Bongo country of Bahr-al-Ghazal. The masculine and feminine genders reappear again in Hausa ; but where the Caucasian has not directly influenced the Negro in the matter of language no distinctions between substantives are made from the point of view of sex.

It is extremely interesting to trace back to Egypt all or almost all the musical instruments, the games, the boat-building (in contra-distinction to mere dug-out trunks of trees), the head-rests used for sleepers, the earrings, necklaces, head-dresses worn in Negro Africa at the present day. In parts of the Uganda Protectorate blue beads are dug up which there is every reason to believe found their way to these countries by an indirect overland trade with Egypt three or four thousand years ago. It has long been a matter of common knowledge that ancient beads are found on the West Coast of Africa which must have crossed the Sahara from the Mediterranean coast long before the Islamite warriors and traders revealed to Europe the existence of Negro Africa.

Another subject of profound interest which members of the African Society might take up for investigation is the origin of the Bantu family of languages. With the exception of the Hottentots and Bushman of South-West Africa and of one or two nearly extinguished tribes in German East Africa, and of the incursion of the Nilotic Masai, there is but 'one family of languages (languages almost as closely allied to one another as are the various Romance forms of speech) between Zanzibar, the Albert Nyanza, the Congo, and the Cameroons on the north and the southern coast of Cape Colony on the south. The most recent researches have gradually traced the Bantu language family in its most archaic existing types to the region north and north-east of the Victoria Nyanza, so that we may imagine the original Bantu mother tongue to have first developed its attack on the rest of southern

Africa in the territories which constitute the Uganda Protectorate of to-day. Yet, curiously enough, this Bantu language is becoming more and more associated in the legend of the savage and the deduction of the scientific philologist with the invasion of that part of Africa by Gala immigrants at a period which may be from two to three thousand years distant. These Gala invaders of Equatorial Africa exist to-day in a diminishing aristocracy of cattle-keepers generally known as the Bahima or Bahuma. Yet there is absolutely no trace of affinity in vocabulary and but little in grammar between Bantu languages and the Hamitic tongues spoken by the Somalis, Galas, and Ancient Egyptians. There are some features, it is true, in the Bantu verbs and pronouns which recall the Hamitic, the Libyan and even the Semitic languages, but these resemblances also occur in other forms of negro speech. All things considered, the nearest affinities to the Bantu family are to be met with in West-Central and in Western Africa. Yet the more we examine the Bantu languages, and the further we explore North-Eastern Africa, the more conclusive becomes the evidence that the original area in which the mother-tongue of the Bantu was developed lay somewhere in the South-eastern basin of the Nile, not far from the headwaters of the Sobat River or from Lake Rudolf.

The political importance of the Bantu family lies in the fact that nearly all the members of this group are so nearly allied in grammar and in vocabulary that they easily grade into one another, so that it is much easier for a Bantu of Zanzibar to understand a Zulu or a native of the Cameroons than it is for any one of these Bantu-speaking tribes to exchange intelligible speech with the Negroes of the Nile or of the Western Sudan. This may in time bring about a cleavage of interests between Africa north of the Bantu borderland and that Bantu Africa which extends between the Upper Congo and the eastern division of Cape Colony. Community of structure in language may bring about community of feeling and sympathy in many other directions.

All the South African questions might well be debated with advantage by the members of this Society. There is that most important topic of Negro Labour . . . how far it is right,

methods of persuasion having failed, to use such means as taxation to compel the Negro to do his fair share of the world's work, and whether even with all due desire on his part to work for a fair wage he can completely take the place of unskilled and skilled labourers from Europe or from Asia. A careful study of the Labour Question may serve to show that the Negro is never averse to work if he is assured of a fair wage, that, given his desire to work, he has quite enough to do in his own country without going far afield in search of employment. Or that, on the other hand, when all local demands for paid labour have been fairly met, there is still a surplus of enterprising young men who might be assisted and encouraged to leave home for a few years to work in other parts of Africa where labour is more in demand and is better paid, so that on their return they might have the capital with which to develop their own agriculture and industries.

There is the agnate question of the partition of Africa between Black, White, and Yellow . . . how far it is consistent with inter-human or international morality to take advantage of our present superiority in strength and intelligence to apportion Africa, to say "These districts of the north and north-east, of the south and south-west shall be the white man's heritage, these coast regions of the east and south-east may be settled or permeated by the yellow man from India or China, Arabia, or Malaysia, and these other regions in between shall be the Black man's land *par excellence*, worked, it may be, by white capital and intelligence and to the white man's profit, but mainly in the interests of the Black man."

All these are questions which might be studied profitably and scientifically by the members of this Society; and the world at large might be better able to compose its final judgment in studying the result of our researches.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

WEST AFRICA BEFORE EUROPE

I COUNT myself fortunate in the opportunity of addressing you at this beginning of the third year of the existence of the African Society. I recognise the great honour conferred upon me and upon the race to which I belong by the position I am at this moment permitted to occupy. I feel also the great responsibility. As a speaker to such an assembly as this, my position is a difficult one ; because, in the first place, it is inevitable that I should repeat what you have heard over and over again ; secondly, I may, from my standpoint, put forward views that, at first sight, may appear to you odd, bizarre and inappropriate.

As to the repetition of the trite, I have this consolation that the same things do not always strike us in the same way. The special circumstances attending an occurrence or a statement may invest it with new meanings to us or may suggest a different point of view. A great deal depends upon our mental attitude at the time of hearing or reading them how ideas will strike us.

Miss Kingsley, in the letters which she did me the honour to write to me from time to time, insisted upon the value of repetition, especially of facts or ideas in connection with Africa, which, she used to say, owing to the rapid march of events on that continent were sure, however trite, to assume new force by every repetition, whether by one or by different persons.

As to whatever unconventional views I may put forward to-day, I have the encouragement of a distinguished member of this Society, who has said, "If the scientific friends of Africa can only get to know what Africa really thinks, they may defy the opinions of those who tell them what Africa ought to think."

The subject which I am announced to discuss on this occasion is "West Africa before Europe," not so much its geographical, political, or commercial aspects, as the moral and religious questions which a contemplation of that portion of the British empire suggests.

The precise limits of West Africa are not accurately defined. When I studied geography many years ago, what was generally understood as constituting West Africa was the whole of the line of the Western Portion of the Continent within the tropics, commencing at Cape Blanco and forming a wide sweep around the Gulf of Guinea to Angola, near the Southern extremity of the Congo, thus extending upwards of 3,000 miles along the Atlantic with an average breadth of say, 500 miles. This country, I see, is now divided into West and South-west Africa. But in this discussion, I will deal with West Africa as formerly understood.

A great event marked the opening years of the nineteenth century, viz., the abolition by Great Britain of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. An equally great event, I consider, marks the opening of the twentieth century, viz., the organisation of the African Society. The first affected the body of the African—that which is seen and temporal; this will affect the soul, which is unseen and eternal.

The Anti-Slavery Societies of the past, in which I include the Aborigines Protection Society, laboured to rid the body of material shackles, and glorious is the work they have achieved and are still achieving. The African Society may, I hope, be called a new Anti-Slavery Society with a higher and more delicate and difficult work before it. It is to me and every thinking African the harbinger of a great future for Africa. It is like the song of the nightingale after the long and dreary winter of misconception on the part of the foreigner and of woes innumerable on the part of the native. It is as yet only on the threshold of the work to be done. It is as yet only learning the alphabet of the new philosophy or the new Faith, which is to bring Africa within the intelligent and sympathetic grasp of the outside world. If it can only be instrumental in exploding the fallacies which during the ages have hindered effective and beneficent results, it will have done

a great work of which others in the future will reap the advantage. And the time is ripe for its labours. "No century," it has been said, "has seen so great a change in our intellectual apprehension of the world in which we live, and the change is the result of the cumulative¹ products of scientific research." In its wider apprehension of its work and its deeper recognition of its proper methods the England of to-day is very different from the England of two generations ago.

It was imagined throughout the nineteenth century by many of the best friends of the African, even among those who were most strenuous in their efforts to deliver him from physical bondage, that he had in his native home no social organisation of his own, that he was destitute of any religious ideas and entirely without any foundation of morality. Therefore, it was said, "*We* must supply this serious deficiency. Let us give him a religion to save his soul and a morality to save his body." But a deeper knowledge of the man and of his country—a scientific study of the subject—is showing that Africa did not need this benevolent interference. The creeds formulated in Europe are not indispensable to Africa's spiritual development. No nation or race has a monopoly of the channels which lead to the sources of divine grace or spiritual knowledge. "God sends his prophets into every clime and every race of men with revelations fitted to their growth and shape of mind."² But a greater than Lowell has said: "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the spirit."³ The Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule *are* indispensable to the usefulness, happiness, and prosperity of Africans as of every race of men, and these are observed in every African community untouched by European Civilisation, and observed with a strictness and efficiency not always found even in European communities. The creeds of Europe were, as a rule, formulated by Councils called to consider religious questions and not always from any spiritual urgency but often from a political necessity of the times in which they occurred; and the conclusions at which they arrived were the

¹ Mr. A. J. Balfour in *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1901.

James Russel Lowell.

³ John iii. 8.

expression of public opinion formed under the actual conditions of Society. This is no reason why these conclusions and opinions should be authoritatively extended to other races or countries, especially when even in the countries in which they originated, hundreds of years ago, many object to their perpetuation into the present time. Why should they be indiscriminately introduced into Africa, as necessary to the salvation of the people, when we have the conditions of salvation—temporal and eternal, worldly and spiritual salvation—laid down in simple and comprehensible terms by the Master Himself? “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets.” “If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.” “What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?”

There is no fact in the modern history of Europe in its relation to Africa more promising for both countries, and at the same time more fraught with peril for the latter, than the ever increasing importance which the commercial and political interests of the two countries are assuming, viewed from the Imperial and Commercial standpoint of Europe. The great peril to Africa lies in the ignorance of African character on the part of those who attempt to exploit the new field or assert responsibility for the Government of the people. This ignorance extended in the past not less to the people than to the resources of the country. Thanks to the magnificent labours of the noble band of travellers and explorers of whom our President is an illustrious example, who, during the last 50 years, have practically grappled with the tangled problem of West Africa, the Natural History and resources of the country are getting to be fairly understood and appreciated.

But the *man* of the country is still an unapproachable mystery to the outside world. He is everywhere *prima facie* a stranger. Nowhere can he by any simulation of look, by any remote resemblance be lost in a foreign crowd. In Asia, Europe, and America, he is at once “spotted” as a peculiar being—*sui generis*.

“Fleecy locks and dark complexion
Cannot forfeit Nature’s claim,”

but they serve to hopelessly differentiate the possessors of

those attributes from any other class of human beings. This fact, perhaps not generally noticed in the ordinary intercourse of men and women, especially of Europeans who have been abroad, is a matter of intense curiosity to children and untravelled people of a race foreign to the African. Nearly all intelligent Africans who have travelled in foreign lands have amusing experiences of this. During a visit to Blackpool many years ago, I went with some hospitable friends to the Winter Garden where there were several wild animals on exhibition. I noticed that a nurse having two children with her, could not keep her eyes from the spot where I stood, looking at first with a sort of suspicious, if not terrified curiosity. After a while she heard me speak to one of the gentlemen who were with me. Apparently surprised and reassured by this evidence of a genuine humanity, she called to the children who were interested in examining a leopard, "Look, look, there is a black man and he speaks English." Macaulay tells us, in one of his delightful letters, that he once had an experience of a similar kind, which he took as a compliment to his literary preeminence. To me the incident was an illustration of what I am now endeavouring to point out to you—the impression made by the colour of the Negro upon the unsophisticated of a foreign race. Bishop Heber says, however, that it is not the colour so much as the appearance—the look of the African, which produces the peculiar feelings of the foreigner at the first sight of him.

Scientific Europeans, who have any time to give to the subject at all, look upon a being whose physical characteristics are so different from their own as possessing also mental peculiarities which require special study. The unthinking European partly from superficial knowledge and partly from a profound belief not only in an absolute racial difference, but in his own absolute racial superiority, rushes to the conclusion that this difference of external appearance implies not only a physical difference, but an inferior mental or psychological constitution, and that the man possessing it must by assiduous culture by the European be brought up to the level of his teacher.

It is this view of the case, which, regarding it as pernicious in the extreme, Miss Kingsley so strongly antagonised. With the characteristic temper of her family or *tribe*, as she used to call

the Kingsleys, she determined to combat this error, and, guided by the scientific instinct, she wanted facts to stand upon. She saw that to make any effective or respectable fight for the man of Africa she must know him. She, therefore, despising all perils and heedless of all advice went to Africa to study the man in his own home; and she chose to go where he had not been tampered with—had not been subjected to the veneer of European manipulation, but where he was himself. No one who has not been amid those scenes can understand or even imagine the discomforts and inconveniences of the enterprise undertaken by that intrepid lady on behalf of science and humanity. And it is as creditable to the African as it was generous in his talented visitor that she found him in his primitive state a being as to whom she could entertain feelings of respect and with whom she could be on terms of friendship.

But "that warm and noble heart," as Mrs. J. R. Green has told us,¹ "purged by severe training from every self-regarding thought, went out to all human need. . . . From time to time her friends could see, looking for a moment into the depths of that solitary and tragic soul, out of what deep experiences her patient charities had grown." Like another woman of her type though of a different race, she could have uttered that magnificent sentiment:

"Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."²

Mrs. Green in the same article says, "A true knowledge of the native proves that the Negro has a *mind-form* of his own, which it is worse than useless to try and drag into what at best must be a bad imitation of a wholly different thing—the European *mind-form*. The one thing necessary is, therefore, to study the Native mind without prejudice, and to help its development along its own lines of thought. Miss Kingsley determined to know what it was to "think black." It was not to be learned in an arm chair at home. "I have risked my life," she says, "for months at a time on this one chance of my being able to

¹ *Journal of the African Society*, October, 1901.

² Not ignorant of suffering myself I have learned how to sympathise with the wretched. Virgil, *Æneid*, Book I. 630. An eminent member of the African Society, who did me the honour to listen to this address, has reminded me that "Dido was a Carthaginian, and, therefore, an African."

know the way people were thinking round me, and of my being able to speak to them in a way that they would recognise as just, true, and logical."

This is admirable. But to "think black," *Cui bono?* "What is the good of learning to 'think black?'" the generality of people might ask. "This is an impracticable dream. We do not want to think black. We want to *utilise* black. We want to make the man who wears the shadowed livery of the burnished sun subservient to us. What logic could have led that courageous but visionary person to desire a solution of that useless puzzle?"

The reply is, Miss Kingsley was a providential instrument raised up in the course of human evolution to save Europe from imbruing her hands in her brother's blood. She dreaded, as Europe with further light will dread, the guilt of murdering native institutions, and thus if not actually destroying the people, impairing their power of effective co-operation with their alien exploiters. Every race, it is now being recognised, has a soul, and the soul of the race finds expression in its institutions, and to kill those institutions is to kill the soul—a terrible homicide. "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul."

Europe had so long been taught to regard the people who drink the waters of the Niger, the Gambia, and the Congo, who dwell on the borders of the great Lakes and roam the plains of Nigeria as hopelessly degraded, that it came as a surprise—to not a few an agreeable surprise—to learn that these people had institutions worthy of study, of respect and of preservation.

So far as West Africa is concerned, and as far as thinking Africans see things, Miss Kingsley was the greatest African missionary, or missionary to Africa produced in the 19th Century, and this because, as was said of her, by one who knew her well, "she gained a knowledge of the native mind beyond any one in this century," and she first undertook the arduous and thankless task of battling single-handed against the conventional disparagement of African institutions.

The African Society came into existence at a time when it was most urgently needed. Organised during a period of unprecedented political upheavals in connection with British

interests in the Southern part of Africa, the attention of the British Nation was in a special manner turned to that Continent. The Society could hardly have come earlier. The nation was not previously prepared for it ; and had it delayed much longer irreparable mischief might have been done.

It was *felix opportunitate nativitat*^{is}—happy in the time of its birth. It came when the accession to Downing Street of unaccustomed energy and an ardent statesmanship had shaken to its foundation the Colonial policy of the past ; when not only the decision of the Parliamentary Committee of 1865 with regard to West Africa had been entirely discredited, and not only had the duty of exploiting the “undeveloped estates” of the Empire been clearly expounded and accepted, but when the doctrine of expansion, the desirability of “fresh fields and pastures new” for Colonial activity had been forced upon the Government.

The new Society appealed for recognition to Downing Street, nor did it appeal in vain. The Colonial Secretary, with his quick sagacity, gave prompt official welcome to the new organisation, recognising in its programme an element of helpfulness in the new departure being inaugurated ; and by his ready response recommending it to the confidence of the public at large, exciting an interest in it, and suggesting the possibility of its being rendered conducive not only to the instruction of the Government, but also to helping forward the mental and moral progress of the Continent whose name it bears.

An eminent English divine and leader of religious thought in the English speaking world, wrote to me a few months ago as follows :—“I was most glad to join the African Society and think it likely to be useful. At first, I dreaded, lest it should be one more of those unhappy organisations, which seek to Anglicise the African and to rub down till at last they smooth into nonentities all race elements ; but I knew that was not Miss Kingsley’s desire England cannot help—even when she declares the contrary—desiring to mould nations and races after her own pattern. She will do it unconsciously, if not consciously, but it ought to be possible to keep this Society within the principles it has laid down for itself.”

My eloquent correspondent, in connecting himself with the

African Society was largely influenced by the utterances made at the inaugural meeting (June 27th, 1901), first by the President, the Marquess of Ripon, and in the letters read and the speeches of the distinguished men who wrote and spoke on that memorable occasion.

They described and emphasised the spirit by which the founders of the Society were actuated. In the remarks of the noble Lord, he not only strongly deprecated indiscriminate interference with native customs, but indicated a tentative or, I should probably say, a scientific position. "I am not quite sure," is the phrase by which the noble President introduced his emphatic protest. This is a mental attitude becoming an earnest inquirer, anxious to know the truth. It is for those intimately acquainted with the subject, and especially as Miss Kingsley often suggested—for educated natives to remove the incertitude of foreign inquirers and strengthen them in their enlightened faith. Now, if the African educated on European lines (and I am glad to see several Africans in the audience), is unable or unwilling to teach the outside world something of the Institutions and inner feelings of his people; if for some reason or other, he can show nothing of his real self to those anxious to learn and to assist him; if he cannot make his friends feel the force of his racial character and sympathise with his racial aspiration, then it is evident that his education has been sadly defective, that his training by aliens has done but little for him—that his teachers have surely missed their aim and wasted their time. Among the letters read at the inaugural meeting and published in its proceedings I have been struck with the following paragraph in the letter of Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith :—

"The old saying, '*Ex Africa semper aliquid novi*,' has to us a meaning which could not have been dreamt of by those who first uttered it. The time seems now to have come to organize and co-ordinate in a scientific spirit the evergrowing yield of this new field of knowledge. The Society has already enlisted among its officers and members administrators, economists, traders, students; and it is hoped it may come in time to be regarded as the common meeting ground of all who are interested in any of the infinitely varying problems—physical, ethnical, social—which Africa presents. It starts under the best auspices on what I hope will prove a useful and prosperous career."

When, a hundred years hence, the historian at the first cen-

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ennial anniversary of the African Society shall be looking for illustrations of the truly scientific, philanthropic and even prophetic spirit of the founders of this Institution he will quote the above among his aptest illustrations.

When we consider the zeal and energy with which generous Europeans have for the last hundred years been trying to introduce religion into Africa, it is interesting to look back to ancient times and study the place which the Continent then occupied in the religious history of the world. It was for many ages the seat and centre of religious impulse—so regarded, it would appear, by the Almighty Himself, as we are taught in the Bible, and by the gods of Greece and Rome, as taught by their Poets. The founders of the Hebrew religion, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses—received religious instruction in Egypt. The greatest of all the Prophets was in helpless infancy sheltered in Egypt. Great Kings and warriors went to Africa to learn the will of God at the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon. Alexander the Great did homage to it and made costly offerings at its shrine. We read of only one Roman statesman, Cato, who, far in advance of his time, resisted the common sentiment of devotion to that shrine. When accompanied by Labienus, a Roman General, he approached the fane of Jupiter Ammon, and was requested by his companion to demand of the Oracle to answer certain questions as to political events at Rome, he demurred in terms which showed that he even at that time was acquainted with the truth which the world only now is beginning to recognise, that God is not confined to place or time. Lucan¹ gives the energetic reply made to Labienus by the Roman philosopher :

“ What would thou, Labienus ?

We all depend on God—

—His Will is known, nor does He need

A Voice, but that within the breast of Man ;

Our duties are implanted on our births !

The God of Nature ne’er confined His lessons

Here, to the few ;—or buried His great truths

In Afric’s sands. Is not His Holy Place

At once all earth, Sea, Air, and Heaven, and Virtue ?

God is, What’er we see—where’er we move !

¹ *Pharsalis*, lib. IX.

Let those who doubt, go ask at yonder fane
Their lot
No oracle confirms or moves my thoughts.

Thus Cato spoke—turned from the hallowed fane
In faith and virtue satisfied : and left
Ammon to Ammon's votaries—the people."

The opinion, then, throughout the civilised world of that time—among the most enlightened nations of Greece, Asia, and Egypt—was that God revealed himself only in Africa, that "He buried His great truths in Afric's sands." If Africa is the "last home of the devil" as it has been recently said, it was the first home of God.

Now things have so changed that it is the opinion of some that God is everywhere except in Africa. But Africa's turn will be sure to come again. Europe exhausted and utterly materialised will again resort to the so-called Dark Continent for simple faith in the Supreme Being, and again will that greyhaired Mother of Civilization be a refuge for seers who see and prophets who prophesy.

And there was ample ground for the opinion of the Ancients. The gods themselves, according to the then popular opinion, went to Africa to spend their holidays among those whom the greatest of the Greek poets described as the "blameless Ethiopians," considering them the fittest of mortals for divine association. Europe was never distinguished in the past for pious impulses or religious leadership. In the greatest tragedy of human history, Africa was represented as associated with the Divine Sufferer—going down into the valley with Jesus. Asia betrayed the God-Man into the hands of Europe—gave Him up as a sheep to the slaughter. Europe slew Him and plundered His clothes after His death. The following are the impressive words of the sacred narrative (John XIX):

"Then the soldiers (Roman soldiers) when they had crucified Jesus took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also His coat ; Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout, they said, therefore, among themselves, let us not rend it but cast lots for it, whose it shall be ; that the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith, They parted My raiment among them and for My Vesture they

did cast lots. These things therefore the (Roman) soldiers did."

Now the racial descendants of these soldiers, who are soldiers yet—God's soldiers—the over-lords and policemen of humanity, believe, apparently, with an inextinguishable faith that they can carry this Jesus whom they slew into Africa. Experience, however, has shown that the enterprise is a most difficult if not impossible one.

One important reason for this is, that it is, nowadays, difficult to say what Christianity is. It seems to depend a good deal upon forms: indeed, in some parts of Christendom various devices are invented to allure professing Christians to Church. And, then, even among the most earnest adherents of the religion there exists considerable diversity of opinion; and these divergent views are brought to Africa and insisted upon by the different sects. Who, then, is to tell the poor African by which particular door he is to enter the precincts of Heaven?

It is now felt on all hands that the most effective way open to Europe and America of assisting in the true development of Africa and the African is on educational and industrial lines conducted "in a scientific spirit." And this is also the feeling of the best thinkers among non-European races.

When in 1896, Li Hung Chang, Viceroy of China, visited New York, representatives of the various Missionary Societies operating in China, called upon him and presented an address of welcome. The address contained a beautiful, delicate and well deserved tribute to the Viceroy personally and to the Chinese Government for the protection and patronage accorded to the Missionaries belonging to that country.

The Viceroy in his courteous and statesmanlike reply, emphasised the features of Mission work which have been of most obvious help to his people. He laid special stress upon the educational and material advantages conferred by the Missionaries. He said:

"As man is composed of soul, intellect and body, I rightly appreciate that your eminent Boards, in your arduous and much esteemed work in the field of China, have neglected none of the three. I need not say much about the first, being an unknowable mystery, of which even our great Confucius had

no knowledge. As for intellect, you have started numerous educational establishments, which have served as the best means to enable our countrymen to acquire a fair knowledge of the modern arts and sciences of the West. As for the material part of our constitution, your societies have started hospitals and dispensaries to save not only the soul but also the body of our countrymen. I have also to add that in time of famine in some of the provinces you have done your best for the greatest number of sufferers, to keep their bodies and souls together." If Missionary Societies can be liberally supported to do the great work so freely and justly commended by the Viceroy they would confer inestimable benefits upon backward and non-Christian races—helping them to a profitable and comfortable material basis for spiritual growth—fitting them to enjoy the promise of this life and of that which is to come, in a word, to save the soul, which Li Hung Chang described as that "unknowable mystery of which even the great Confucius had no knowledge."

A recent American Church paper has complained that missionary offerings are to a great extent the gifts of women and children. It says :

"In the whole history of our Missionary enterprise we have failed to find a single great offering as an annual contribution. The brains and the money of the Church have not been enlisted. We have men of fortune, who are to-day swaying the destinies of nations, and most of these men are on our boards and vestries, and in our conventions, national and diocesan, and they ought to be and can be reached. They build churches and parish-houses, universities and libraries, railways and factories, and all these are well and should be multiplied ; but these men should be made to know that there is something better and holier, something richer in possibilities and permanent power than these things, noble as they are, and that is the enterprise which endeavours to bring and bind together in the family of God all nations, races and peoples."¹

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, as if in reply to this, has recently indicated the line, at least so far as Africa is concerned, on which these men of fortune—"the brains and the money of the Church"—prefer to work.

The papers have recently announced the magnificent gift of £120,000 by Mr. Carnegie to the Trustees of the Tuskegee Institute, U.S., under a Negro Principal for the industrial training of Negro youth.

¹ Quoted in *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, May, 1903.

The Tuskegee Institute is a noble monument of the perseverance and energy of its black founder. No educational work in America, either among whites or blacks, has given greater satisfaction or has attained so wide a reputation, because it has demonstrated what the African can do for himself and for others. It has taught by precept and example how the ex-slave may rise in intelligence, in material comforts and social position. Mr. Booker T. Washington, the Founder, himself coming "up from Slavery," has by his own talents, energy and thrift, reached a position unparalleled in the history of his race in the Western Hemisphere. These facts appealed to Mr. Carnegie with a force which has induced him to give before his own countrymen and the whole civilised world by his enlightened munificence, his practical sanction of the methods in vogue at Tuskegee for the training of African youth.

As far as I am aware, this is Mr. Carnegie's first gift to an alien race and is accepted by Africans everywhere as a compliment to their Fatherland.

I am reminded of what it may not be inappropriate to refer to here—a most interesting chapter bearing the curious title of "The Poetry of Wealth," in the volume of "Stray Studies," by John Richard Green, in which the eloquent historian foretold the advent at some future day of a Poet-Capitalist, who would revel in the opportunities for doing good, which his enormous wealth would supply. Mr. Carnegie realises Mr. Green's prognostications. Perhaps the millionaire has read the stimulating prophecy of the historian. If he has not read it his attention should be called to it for the comfort and encouragement he might derive from its eloquent suggestiveness and its marvellous coincidence with the magnificent schemes and speculations of his splendid philanthropy.

So far as spiritual matters are concerned the only exotic or what ought to be called *quasi* exotic religious system which has ever exerted wide-spread influence in Africa is Islam, and it has nothing to fear from any efforts to uproot it in that land. It possesses inherent elements of strength in its own code of morality: and, in its general lines, is far more suited to the African than any form of Christianity which has been presented for his acceptance. It will never succumb to the presentment

of so-called Christian ethics. Indeed Islam is the form that Christianity takes in Africa. Mrs. Green has told us that everything that goes into Africa turns black ; and Canon Scott Holland in a recent very striking and remarkable speech on African Missions—a speech saturated with the spirit of the times—said, “All our white work will pass away”—that contains real prophecy, and the Canon goes on to say—“Then the work will pass to native Evangelists and priests as it passes through us into them, into these men carefully trained and disciplined. Somehow or other everything connected with the high hat and ‘Dearly Beloved’ will drop off and the original thing, which is our life, will be their life too. Then it will spread and kindle like fire and lay hold on the Native life and draw it in !” Yes, and then that system and Mohammedanism will blend in a brotherhood one and inseparable.

Dean Stanley, in his work on the Eastern Church gives a chapter to Mohammedanism. He includes the work of Mohammed within the limits of Christian history. Owing to his breadth of view and the geniality which so honourably distinguish his writings, the Dean was able cordially to recognise in a religion which he felt to be immeasurably inferior to his own, certain elements of nobleness and truth, and to discern the racial and social necessities which gave it birth and shaped the character and aims of its prophet. The symbol of Islam as given in the Koran, is the camel. “Behold,” says the sacred book, “the camel how it has been created.” It is not the horse ; it is not the ass. It is a creature adapted to the sands of the desert and to waterless regions. Religion as formulated in Europe, in the name of Christ, is the reindeer for the snows of Lapland. Religion as formulated by the Shemitic prophet of Arabia in the name of all the prophets is the camel in the sands of Arabia and in the Sahara. Both these will furnish stepping stones in Africa for a higher religious life than man has yet attained to. “Neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem.”

“ Nothing useless is, or low,
Each thing in its place is best ;
And what seems but idle show
Strengthens and supports the rest.”

There is no question in my mind that in the British Colonies and Protectorates in West Africa it is of the first importance to train the minds of young Mohammedans according to Western methods—to give them access to the instruments of Western culture, which will not make them Christians, but more strongly Mohammedans, and will enable them to hold the place they should hold under the British Government in the affairs of their own country. With more information as to the outside world, I feel sure that the Mohammedans will gradually assimilate all that is best in Christian cities without being tied down to customs which are unsuited to their environment.

Inspiration is not confined to things specifically spiritual or ostensibly religious. Every man and every Institution which achieve anything for humanity or labour in any direction for the progress and uplifting of mankind, are, in spite of themselves, and in spite of whatever they may choose to call themselves, in league with the spiritual forces of the universe. I believe that the African Society is as much the result of direct Inspiration as any other Institution which, organized under any other name, is designed to seek and to save the lost, and, therefore, in the name of Africa and of her long misunderstood and much abused populations, I bespeak for this Society the earnest support of the "brains and the money of the men of fortune, who are to-day swaying the destinies of nations;" persuaded as I am that by its fruits in the future it shall be known; when men will recognise that she in whose memory it was founded and whose work it is intended to carry out and develop was more than a dreamer of dreams.

E. W. BLYDEN, LL.D.

28^a

16°

34°

16°

KHARTUM

Blue Nile

White Nile

THE GREAT MARSHES OF THE WHITE NILE

UNIQUE as the Great Sahara Desert of North Africa is for its vast expanse of dry rock and sand, so also are the great Marshes of the White Nile unique in this world for the extent of their reed and water wastes.

In no other quarter of the globe does water, reed, and marsh, cover such a large area, and in no other quarter is the wonderful action of nature, through the agency of wind, water, and vegetable growth, displayed in a more extraordinary manner than in these remote regions, where in a night lakes and lagoons are formed, where rivers are diverted from their channels or crossed by natural bridges; where floating islands appear and disappear as if by magic.

Covering upwards of 35,000 to 40,000 square miles these marshes extend over something of an equi-lateral triangle with its base through Fashoda on the 10° of North Latitude from the 28° to 34° degrees of Longitude East of Greenwich, and with its apex at Lado on the 5° of North Latitude. From Fashoda on the north to Lado on the South, from Mashra al Rak on the West to Nasr on the East.

To anyone who has not experienced the weird sensations of passing through this world of reeds, lagoons and swamps, I will endeavour to give a short description.

Those who have seen the Wular Lake in Cashmere, covered with its floating islands of water-nut, through which the Jhelum flows in tortuous channels from Shrinagar; or the weed covered creeks of Florida can, by magnifying these many times, form some idea of the Great Marshes of the White Nile.

After leaving the populated district of Tongo with its Shiluk beehive villages, on the left bank of the White Nile, beyond the

confluence of the Bahr az Ziraf river, the swamp begins to open out. Trees, villages, banks, all disappear in a vast horizon of reed and water, rush and swamp. There is nothing to relieve the unbroken line of flat horizon, nothing on which the eye can rest but the gently swaying heads of the tall papyrus each side of the channel, and the bending stems of the "Um Suf"¹ reed beyond.

As you proceed along the twisting and narrow channel, constantly doubling back on itself, and the sun sets in the west in the sea of reeds and swamp, a feeling of desolation and utter loneliness comes over you. Stillness reigns supreme, except now and then for the snort and splash of some disturbed hippopotamus. As darkness creeps over the great marsh the chorus of myriads of insects swells from the rushes—mosquitoes rise and fall in a thin cloud over the reed tops, and discovering your presence soon attack you in thousands. The "anvil" insect strikes its sharp metallic note in the papyrus close by, and you feel that you are trespassing on an insect world where you are not wanted and where your presence is resented. The damp hot air is gently stirred by the evening breeze, but you scent malaria and instinctively seek your evening dose of quinine and the hospitality of your cabin, and close your eyes to the desolation of the world outside.

It was towards the close of the year 1898, after the great battle of Omdurman, and during the period of the Fashoda question, that I had the good fortune to be employed in making compass sketches of the then navigable channels in these regions. In that year the waters were higher than they have been since.

The Bahr al Jabl was completely blocked with sudd, and, as a consequence, the marshes and water extended further than they probably do at the present time. Now, thanks to the hard work of Colonel Peake, Major Matthews and their men, steamers are able to go without difficulty to Gondokoro at a time of year when there are no mosquitoes and no malaria. There is therefore no obstacle to anyone wishing to see the greatest marshes in the

¹ "Um Suf" is the Arabic name for this reed and means "the mother of wool," owing to the white fluffy fleece which surrounds the seeds. Its generic name is *Vossia*. The tall reed with the great pampas-like plumes is *Phragmites communis*. —ED.

world. In the months of January and February the weather is fairly cool and dry, so that there is nothing to fear from climatic conditions.

The rivers which flow into or through these marshes are :

The Bahr Ghazal with its tributaries, the Bahr al Hamr, the Jūr, the Kit, the Tonj or Jau, from west.

The Rōl, The Bahr al Jabl with its tributaries—the Yei and Jafari rivers, and its offspring, the Bahr az Zirāf, as well as numerous unnamed streams from south. While the Sobat with its tributaries comes in from east.

Lake No (probably a contraction from Lake Nuer) or the Magren al Buhur (Arabic—"meeting of the waters") is the cup of the great basin which collects the waters out of which the White Nile proper starts on its peaceful journey of 612 miles to Khartum, picking up the waters of the Zirāf, Lolle, and Sobat in the first 50 miles of its course.

The Bahr al Jabl, which was entirely blocked till the end of 1900, overflowed its banks in all directions, but the main volume of its waters was in 1898 drawn off by the Bahr az Zirāf from a "spill" near Shambe, and this latter river was navigable for a length of 280 kilometres. The level of its waters was several feet above the normal height and flooded the country on both sides for a long distance. Trees were killed by their long immersion, and it was with very considerable difficulty that fuel could be found on dry land anywhere.

Like the Bahr al Jabl its course is most tortuous, bending back in loops on itself, so that it was often possible in that year to take a short cut of only a few yards to avoid a bend of perhaps a mile or two in length. There is less sudd in the Bahr az Zirāf than most of these rivers, presumably because few "Mayahs" or lagoons are met with.

It is these "Mayahs," especially on the Bahr al Jabl, which are the nurseries for the sudd proper.

In these open sheets of water, varying from 3 to 10 feet deep, the surface, where there is no stream, gets covered with floating reeds and weeds which spring up from the bottom. In the summer and early autumn months, when violent squalls and winds sweep across the open marshes, the resistance offered by the tall stems is so great that large patches of reed and weed get detached

from the sides and, breaking away from their loose hold on the shallow bottom, drift before the wind from side to side of the lagoons.

At times these floating islands, often several acres in size, get blown into the river channel whence they are carried down with the stream, turning round and round as they brush the reeds at the sides. Eventually a narrow point is reached, the mass blocks, and other patches following are piled up and underneath by the force of the water finding its passage closed. Sometimes a mass, often many feet in thickness, is wedged tight in the channel. The water swirls through as best it can underneath and overflows into the marshes on each side, making new lagoons. As each fresh piece of sudd comes down the block gets tighter and thicker; at last it often becomes a thickness of several metres as solid as hard ground, on which men and animals can walk. The stream continues underneath. These blocks last for years; sometimes an extra strong flood is able to break them away, but they often stop till removed by the hand of man.

Gessi Pasha in his account of how his party were caught in 1881, and nearly starved in these regions, gives a graphic description of the dangers to be met with in combating the sudd.

Sir W. Garstin found his return blocked in a similar manner in 1900, but was able with the assistance of a steamer down stream of the block to extricate himself.

It is extraordinary how few birds are seen. In November, however, especially on the Ziraf River, thousands of black and white Ibis may be seen making their nests in the low trees near the river bank—geese, duck, teal, great and lesser bustard are also met with at this season in great quantities. The handsome black and white fish-eagle can be heard calling his mate from some old stump, and the great *Balaniceps rex* (probably the rarest bird in Zoological Gardens) can be seen standing like a solitary sentinel in that portion of the swamp which he looks upon as his own special reserve and sanctuary.

There is a certain fascination about these birds, found, I believe, in no other quarter of the globe.

Fish abound and are caught and speared by the natives in numbers.

Where dry land borders on the marshes, elephant, giraffe,

ostrich, and sometimes buffalo disport themselves, while the hippopotamus is met in most of the backwaters and lagoons, and at times races through the swamp to get into the river ahead of a steamer.

Sir William Garstin, whose exhaustive report on these regions was presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1901, states that the amount of water which flows out of the marshes differs from that which flows in above the swamps by 328,744 metres cube per second. This is rather more than half the volume which flows in, viz., 622,965 metres cube per second in the Bahr al Jabl alone. The amount of water which in consequence is absorbed by evaporation is beyond comprehension.

Sir William proposes two schemes for the prevention of the overflow of the water from the main stream into these marshes. If, in time to come, sufficient funds are forthcoming to carry either of these 'out, it may be possible in future years to see smiling rice fields and cotton plantations where to-day the *Balæniceps rex* keeps his solitary guard and the mosquito his undisturbed lair.

E. A. STANTON,
Lieut.-Colonel.

Note.—The spelling of the Arab river and place names in this article differs in some instances from that in the author's M.S., as it has been brought into uniformity with the recognised system of rendering Arabic into English followed by the Indian Government. Thus *Jabl* (mountain) is given as the rendering of the Arabic جبل in preference to *Jebel*; *al* (ال) in preference to *el*, and so on.—ED.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS BY F. H. M., AN OFFICIAL IN THE N.E. RHODESIAN SERVICE OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY

[It is thought that these extracts from the letters of a young Englishman may give an interesting picture of some aspects of life in British Central Africa, between the Zambezi and Tanganyika and on Lake Nyasa.—ED.]

GENERAL LETTER FROM F. H. M., B. S. A. COMPANY.

AT MPIKA, VIA FIFE, NORTH EASTERN RHODESIA,

CENTRAL AFRICA, *September 5, 1901.*

BEFORE I left England, I promised a good many people to write to them ; and agreed that the best way, in addition to private letters, would be to send an occasional letter home of a general character, to be typed or printed for general distribution.

I will not deal at length with the early part of our journey ; suffice it to say that we were extremely comfortable on the Rennie Liner *Insizwa* and had a very smooth and quick passage to Durban, twenty-six days from Portland. We left Durban on the 24th of June, and anchored at Lorenzo Marques on the 26th. Here we stayed two days but the city did not impress us much. On leaving the Bay we experienced very rough weather, and we were glad to reach the pretty little place of Inhambane on the 29th where we spent a few hours. Beira (July 3rd) was the next stopping place, and here most of the passengers (bound for Umtali or Salisbury) left us. It is a horrid place. Very hot and so deep in sand, that the only means of communication is by small tram-cars, holding one, two, or four people, pushed by natives. The whole aspect of the place was cheerless, a muddy river, a low lying coast and tin houses



[Face p. 380.]

"POLING" A STEAMER THROUGH SHALLOW WATER IN THE LOWER SHIRE.

was all that there was to be seen. On the 4th we went alongside the transport *Algeria*, and took on board 450 troops of the B.C.A. (British Central Africa Protectorate) Rifles, with Sikh Sergeants and English Officers.

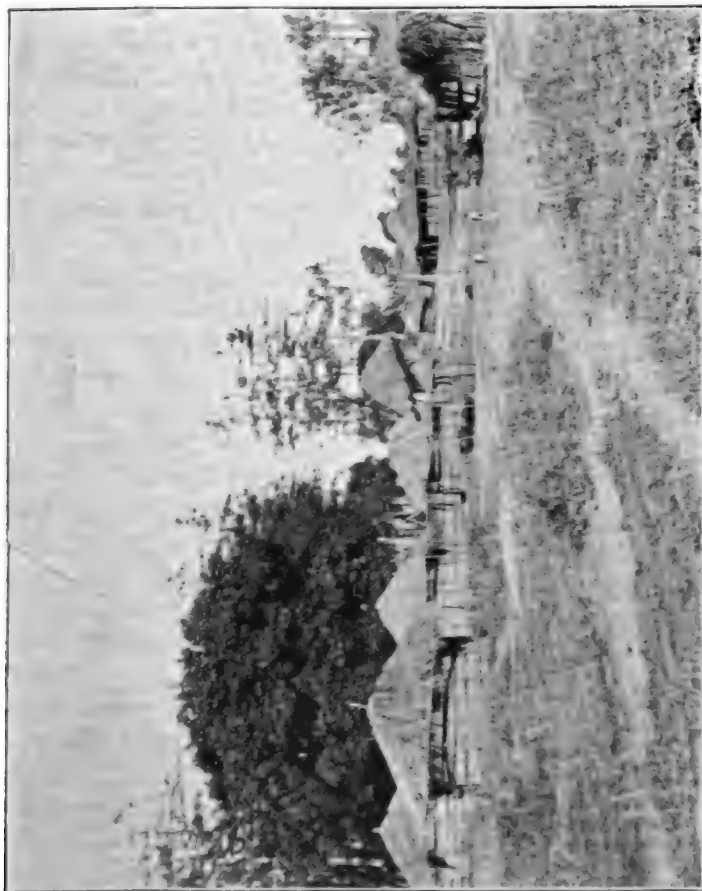
The next day we anchored at 10 a.m. at Chinde, at the mouth of the Zambezi.

I cannot pass from the East coast without referring to the sunsets. At one time the horizon would be a bright emerald green, changing gradually through pink and magenta to a dull blue violet—one returns to one's book, or game of picquet for a moment or two, and then the horizon is a dazzling gold, above which is a red-brick colour, melting into carmine. The colours really cannot be described—they must be seen to be realised—and I must confess that the sunsets on the east coast and in Central Africa have impressed me more than anything else in the country. Now I will go more into detail for we have reached Central Africa. Chinde was better than I expected—that is not saying much but still, it is something—I expected something worse than Beira, I found a smaller, but, in my opinion, a vastly superior place. A pretty, but dull river, with trees of a glorious green on the left side of it. On the right—low sand, with corrugated iron buildings and some trees, overhead a mass of flags, every building having its own distinguishing pennant; the river being alive with boats. Looking at these—and perhaps here lies the superiority in my mind over Beira—the sternwheelers—both passenger boats (about twenty in number) and the two gunboats *Mosquito* and *Herald*—from the Chinde (or right) bank of the river, the view is not unlike the Thames at Datchet, or still more at Pangbourne towards the end of July. The sternwheelers only want gay awnings, boxes of geraniums, bright parasols, muslin “creations,” and the sound of piano or guitar, to turn them into the familiar houseboat. The *Harry Johnston* or the *Polypode* would soon become the *Rouge et Noir*, while H.M.S.S. *Mosquito* and *Herald* would equally well represent the *Myosotis* or the *Hyacinth*. The background, too, is not unlike the Thames; but on the other side, all that is un-English meets one's eyes. Crowds of natives, white men in khaki and duck, a few stray palms, tin houses and the gay bunting of rival firms. Such was Chinde as it struck me on my

arrival, as I, as we all, stood on the deck of the *Induna* before breakfast.

We had not been in Chinde above an hour, before we discovered that our provisions had not come by the *Insizwa*, and consequently were not on board the *Induna*, but were following by the *Matabele* in about a fortnight's time (I heard to-day by wire—September 12th—that they had reached Blantyre, nearly a month from here !); but they were not so important as the rest of our kit; beds, bedding, cookpots, filter and boots and clothes to a large extent, all in fact except what we had in our cabins, got left at Chinde for our boat the *Cameron* was in such a hurry to get away, having so many B.C.A. troops on board, that she would not wait an extra three-quarters of an hour for the *Induna* to finish discharging her cargo. Well, to finish off the luggage. Although we waited eighteen days *en route*, it did not reach here till September 2nd, and then not all, three packages haven't come yet! Such is transport in Central Africa.

The lower Zambezi is very dull, and broad, the land on either side being flat and the river always from one to four miles across, but this being the middle of the dry season, the occasional sticking on mud banks, and the shots at hippo's and croc's (they never get their full names) varied the monotony. We reached Chiromo, about a day and a half after we left the Zambezi, and turned into the Shiré river, on July 8th. The Shiré is little better than the Zambezi, except in parts, where the banks are high, and high mountains in the distance remind one rather of the Severn, a superficial resemblance, but enough to strike one. Chiromo is a smallish place, about thirty European inhabitants, not badly laid out, and lies at the junction of the Ruo and the Shiré, and is very unhealthy; still we had a pleasant three days there, our host (the Flotilla Co.'s agent) being very hospitable; we went out fishing one evening but the only bites we got were mosquito bites, with which insects the place swarms. The next morning I was more lucky and got a barbel 4lb. 10oz. and a tiger fish 7lb. 5oz. with my trout rod, which, I think, speaks wonders for the tackle. On the 11th we embarked at daybreak for Patima, on the way I got three guinea fowl, one wild duck, and one "hippo bird." I haven't yet been able to discover the latter's real name, but he was uncommonly good eating, much



[Face p. 382.

A TYPICAL YAO VILLAGE IN THE SHIRE HIGHLANDS WHERE THE YAOS OF THE
"KING'S AFRICAN RIFLES" LIVE.

resembling woodcock. The *Argonaut*, our boat from Chiromo, was extremely comfortable, and we were sorry to leave her, on the evening of the 12th at Patima, from which place we started the next morning on our journey (31 miles) to Blantyre in machilas. What is a "machila"? you ask. Well, get a hammock and sling it on a pole, get two people to carry you, taking care they are always out of step, over a bad road, singing three words (not more) over and over again all day, out of tune and monotonously and you have the joys of machila travelling. Being new to machila travelling it seemed worse the first time (after a bit you can get used to it and go to sleep), also Jones and I did not understand that the men with loads do not keep up with the machilas; and consequently we arrived at Blantyre with what we stood in, and our cameras. We stayed at Keiller's African Transcontinental Hotel, a long name of which the place is quite unworthy. Blantyre is wretchedly laid out, at least it isn't laid out at all, it is like three or four hamlets, in a circle of four or five miles. The church is a fine piece of native work, but as much out of keeping with Blantyre, as York Minster would be in an English village. Blantyre, the biggest town in Central Africa, in point of population is like Diddington, Kingsteignton, Middleton, Old Meole Brace, Barford, Iffley (choose your own village, or if you know none of these, think of any small straggly village you do know). Still we had a fair, though dull nine days at Blantyre, hoping our luggage would arrive, and playing tennis, cricket, billiards, &c.: and here we were instructed to proceed direct to Fife instead of Fort Jameson. On the 21st of July we left for Mpimbi on the upper Shiré River, our baggage this time having gone three days ahead. We reached that place at nine p.m., and after supper went on board the Flotilla Co.'s sternwheeler *Stairs*, a comfortable boat with a piano. An uneventful journey the next day with a perfect sunset, a blaze of gold and fiery red on Lake Pamalombe, and we reached Fort Johnston in the evening, "a large and prosperous city where we stayed six days" as friend Xenophon used to say. The place impressed us immensely, being to Blantyre as Paris is to any of the villages named above, for though its population is but twenty-five, every man's house is a "compound," a city of its own, and the avenues are broad, like the Paris boulevards, only some

broad, the trees fine, and the "Ngombe" (or river bank) adds to its beauty, with all the river and lake steamers, sailing yachts, &c., at anchor. This is new Fort Johnston, built of course under advantageous circumstances, for it was removed wholesale from the original fort, five miles distant, to its present site and laid out properly. We had a very jolly time here, our host, the Flotilla Co.'s agent, being most hospitable, and we had tennis, billiards and fishing, every one doing his utmost to make us comfortable. On the 29th, with much regret we left, and embarked on the S.S. *Adventure*, and reached Monkey Bay the same day, a delightful spot almost land-locked, with mountains all round, and a pretty native kraal at the centre of the Bay.

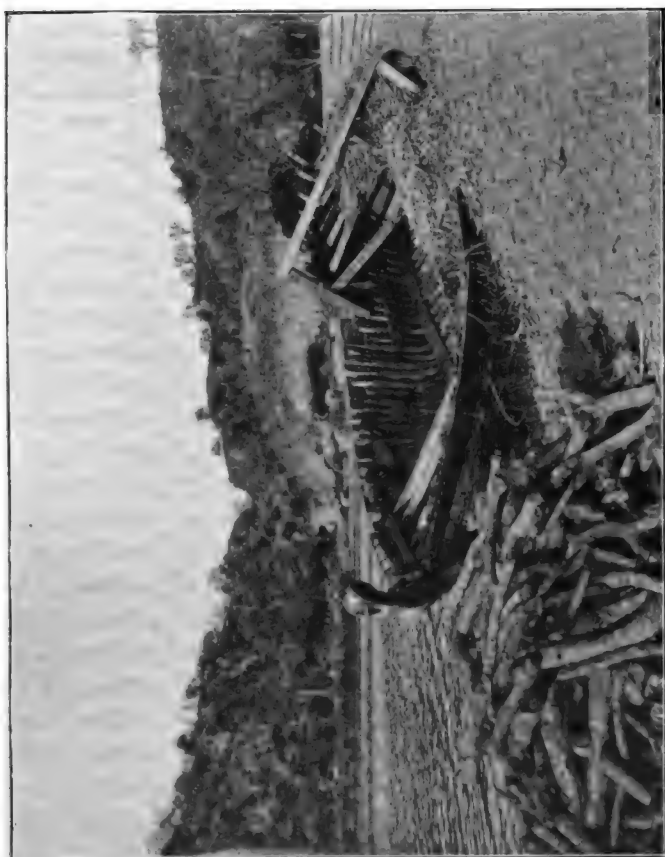
Fort Maguire, Domira Bay, and Kota Kota, the next stopping places, were in flat and dull country, and Nkata Bay, which must be very pretty, we only saw by moonlight, and then it was very fine. We had that night a glorious sunset, which really must be mentioned, the finest I have ever seen; the sea, that is the lake, was rough, and the light rather resembled a summer sunrise. The clouds were a dark bluey grey, the further hills were like red hot coals, and the general effect was as if the sun had set between them and the nearer hills, which were of a dull dark purple. On the opposite side there was a reflection of red, a glorious glow covering everything, changing in a few minutes to the silver glory of a full moon. Fine mountain scenery was with us the rest of the way. Ruarwe we reached the next day, a pretty spot, and made a perilous journey over a choppy bay in a "dug-out" (a native canoe made from a tree trunk scooped out) to some very fine waterfalls, which well justified the taking of several photographs. After this we proceeded to Lawrence Bay, which we reached in the evening, just in time for a delightful bathe; the following morning seeing us at Kambwe, where we left the *Adventure* and started on a five days' overland journey (in machilas of course) to Fife. We camped in tents the first two nights, once at Nkaka and once at the Rufira River, both delightful spots, and at the latter, very like a British stream (in fact it reminded me closely of the Fiddich, a tributary of the Spey, in Banffshire), we had a splendid dip into a pool, near which was growing any amount of very fine maiden-hair. Next day brought us to Chomba Hill leading on to the Nyasa-Tan-

ganyika plateau, looking back from which is a really marvellous sight. It really looks as if all the hills in Africa had been taken up and thrown down there. Here we were lucky in seeing the very first waggons that had ever ascended the hill. Each drawn by about a hundred natives. They belonged to the T. C. L. (Tanganyika Concession, Lt.) and each carried about two ton of machinery for the T. C. L.'s new boat *Cecil Rhodes* on the Lake. I took a snapshot of what, like all "first events," is a really unique sight, but have not yet developed it, as it is difficult to get clear water here in sufficient quantities for photography (which takes a good deal). The following day we lunched at the Northernmost "Boma" (official's residence) in B. C. A. and that afternoon entered B. S. A. Without further event worth recording we reached Fife on August 7th. The Civil Commissioner was out visiting some stations, but the resident A. N. C. (Assistant Native Commissioner) took us in hand and Jones stayed in Fife, while I went out almost immediately, to superintend the finishing of the Mirongo Road. But first let me describe Fife. A hill with a stream running round three quarters of it, other hills on either side. On the East side of this hill the Boma, viz. the C. C.'s house, Office, Post Office, and A. N. C.'s house. On the South a native store, and the T. C. L. Representative's House. On the West, the Flotilla Company's compound (since then moved) and a store (moving next week). On the hill to the South is the site of the C. C.'s new house. On the hill to the North is the store that moves into its new premises next week and another store, also several plots allotted, but not yet built on, in a word, the New Township of Fife. A little further on the Road is the Flotilla Co.'s new Place. Next year, after the C. C.'s house is built, the A. N. C. takes the old one, a nice house, and then the A. N. C.'s comes down, and new Stores, Offices and Court Room (Judicial not Royal Court) will take the place of the old store, and the Flotilla Place. Looking West the long line of the plateau. Eastwards two hundred yards or so, takes one into German territory where one gets a beautiful view of the Songwe Valley (the Songwe River flows into Nyasa). Our little stream, or rather two streams are two of the many sources of the R. Congo. Fife is exactly half way between the two lakes. Such is Fife, a city of some ten souls, yet it is growing.

This country up here was really only opened two years ago, and yet, for this part of the country I may quote our old friend again, it is "a large and prosperous city. But I have digressed terribly, I am afraid. I went on the Mirongo Road, I was out a fortnight and made close on thirty miles, a grand life, I enjoyed it immensely, out all day, up and on the road at six, and in bed by nine ; shooting an occasional guinea fowl. I saw some game, but my cartridges had not yet arrived, so my rifle was of no use, and feeling as well as I ever felt in my life.

My first general letter was written from Fife, on the Nyasa-Tanganyika Plateau, and shortly after I had sent it, I was gazetted as Assistant Native Commissioner to the Awemba district, a large district under Fife, which is the head-quarters for the North Loangwa and the Awemba districts. It was to the Southern or Mpika division that I was to go, that is to say, that part of the country bounded on the North by the Manshia and, after its confluence with that River by the Chambezi, on the West by Lake Bangweolo and the Luapula R. until the Lumbatwa R. runs into it which forms the Southern boundary, while on the S.E. and E. the watershed of the Muchinga range divides it from the East Loangwa District. There are two routes from Fife to Mpika, the one through Kasama and the other through Mirongo, the former place the chief station in the Awemba country, lying S. W. of Fife, while Mironga is S. S. E. Although the latter route is the shorter, that by Kasama is the more usual as Kasama, is a larger place, has a road (now) all the way to Fife, and is much more important being on the main transport route from Fort Jameson and the South to Abercorn and the North, (Tete, Ft. Jameson, Nawalia, Mpika, Kasama, Abercorn,) along which passes all the Telegraphic material of the African Transcontinental Telegraph Co., and the building material for the places mentioned as well as for other stations both in the Abercorn and Mweru Districts. Mpika had only been opened in July by Mr. Cookson, A. N. C. and by Mr. Young the N. C. at Kasama ; and was, I heard, a very jolly station. It lies 31°30 E. and 11°50 S.

On the 29th of September 1901, I started packing, breaking up old packing-cases and making new ones, hammering, sawing



[*Face p. 386.*
THE REMAINS OF AN ARAB SLAVING-DAU STRANDED AT MONKEY BAY, LAKE NYASA.

all day and stencilling my name on them, and the next day having sent my goods off to Mwenzo, the A. L. C.'s station, I followed at midday on my bicycle, calling for tea on the way at Mwenzo Mission, where I spent a very enjoyable hour or two, followed by a delightful four mile run to the A. L. C.'s place. Here I spent the night and left early the next morning for Mudzi Manzi leaving the road after a mile and cycling, with one native to show me the way, over the worst country I have seen here at all, all rocks, mountains and defiles. I punctured badly on the way, (14 holes in back tyre!) and where the narrow winding native paths, became sandy and deep too in places, a skid from the slack tyre was very troublesome. However I went along through shrub and over rocks, and in this way I reached the village at 1.45, hot, dusty, and filthily dirty, for the black from the burnt grass penetrates everything, and leaves one's legs up to the knee an inky black. Small wonder then as I sat in my tent I decided that if that was the sort of path I had to ride over, I would not use my machine till I reached the road that was being made to Fife, and consequently the next day my machine was slung on a pole and carried. The path, the whole way, however, was over a plain as flat as a billiard table! I passed the Chosi R. on the 2nd, and on the 3rd, at midday came to the Road, where an A. N. C. from Fife was at work. I pitched my tent near his and had lunch and tea with him, and then we went up to have dinner with the French Fathers at their mission at Kayanbi, where we were very hospitably entertained. The next morning I sent off my loads and machila early to Kasenga on the upper Chambezi, and breakfasted with my companion in a grass shelter, much cooler for daytime than a tent, after which he left, as he was moving his camp that day some five miles nearer to Fife. Then as I had several hours before starting to the Mission, where I had promised to "breakfast," I started to try to mend my punctures, but unfortunately something went wrong with the valve, and, being short of instruments, I could not get it right. So on reaching the Mission I had to borrow a machila, and send to my friend on the road for men. These however did not arrive till late, and it was 6 p.m. before I started. In spite of the (?) singing and the jolting, I slept much of the way, and crossing the Chambezi just before 4 a.m., I reached

Kasenga's village at 4.10. I called to my house boy by name, and received no answer from the group of sleeping natives ; I walked towards the tent, when, to my surprise, a head came out with "who on earth's that?" Explanations followed, and I found that my men had not turned up, and that this was a gentleman travelling from Kasama. So we drank hot coffee and chatted till daylight when we had breakfast, and at 9.30 my men turned up. Having thought they had travelled far enough when they had gone about two-thirds of the way, they had turned aside to a village and left me in the lurch. For which they were duly punished at Kasama, for had I not by a lucky chance stumbled across another traveller, I might have been laid up with a serious chill. That evening I shot my first zebra, and early the next morning went out again, but was very much off the mark, missing both hartebeeste and eland. On the 7th, I set out again towards Kasama reaching Kangulu R. that afternoon, and Kasama the next day at 1 p.m. without further incident.

Kasama stands well on a hill, one part of which is a promontory ending in a bulb, on which stands the Boma, or government buildings, connected with the main hill by an isthmus, to use these words metaphorically, for they are not surrounded by water, but by a plain, over which the road passes connecting the Boma with the A. L. C. stores, and a Trader's compound. The brick buildings at Kasama were just being finished whilst I was there. —, my companion from England to Fife, was there and was very fit. Little happened except on one day, when we went a really most interesting expedition to some caves hidden high in the mountains, sacred to the old Awemba, where no white man had ever been. It was a hard journey, involving stiff climbing, and we had trouble with our guide, an old Kapitao of the late paramount chief Mwamba, he being afraid of the anger of the gods if he showed us the entrance. We had heard of there being a vast number of tusks there, and there is in all probability a great deal of truth in the rumour, but the ground was yards deep in the excrement of the myriads of bats that infested the caves. The caves themselves contain many large chambers, with pillars of fossilized trees. The absolute darkness, the countless number of bats that

flew in our faces, the weird shadows thrown by our figures and the arches, from the lanterns, the deathly silence of our walk, arising from the softness of the ground, gave an awesome and mysterious feeling, the air was stuffy and unpleasant, and often we had to crawl absolutely flat, to climb, to jump, to reach one or another gallery or chamber still more in the bowels of the earth than the one we were leaving. It would take too long to describe it all, but we were "treasure-hunting" out of sight of sky or light for close on four hours, and were very glad to breathe fresh air again, and to get back, as we did by dark, to Kasama.

After seven days I left Kasama and proceeded on my way, a mail reaching me just as I was setting out, and being very welcome. Nothing much happened *en route* except that I had two ineffective shots at Eland on the 15th and got a puku with a good head on the 16th of October; the same day I caught six fish rather like bream on the Lower Chambezi. I reached Mpika on the 22nd at midday, and was charmed with the place; as yet consisting only of round huts, but very comfortable and also very tidy—a splendid situation—a high hillock shaped like an eight, on one crest of which is the Boma, on the other the Police and messengers' village. Beyond, quite close, the Muchinga mountains whence come all our winds and also our pure mountain stream, on the other side, stretching far away, until it vanishes in a true horizon, the broad plateau watered by the Luitikila, Wenekashi, Lulingilila, and Chambezi rivers, all of which flow eventually into Bangweolo, and thence by the Luapula into Lake Mweru, which they, or their waters, leave to feed the Congo.

The next day we went to Kilonga, a little south, to spend the night at the French Mission there, where the hospitality even exceeded that which I had met with at Kayanbi, on the way securing three hartebeeste and two zebra, while on the return journey Cookson got two reedbuck. I began to feel unwell that day, and the next entry in my diary after October 26th is November 16th, and of that time—from October 28th to be correct, I can only speak by hearsay, for to me it was an absolute blank. I had a very nasty, though short attack of fever, contracted on the way here, and succeeded in pulling

through, thanks to the untiring nursing of my colleague, and of one of the French Fathers who came from Kilonga and stayed here for a month. When once I began to 'convalesce' my recovery was remarkably rapid ; I sat out on the verandah for a short time on the 17th, I dressed on the 19th, went down to the garden in a machila on the 20th, walked down twice on the 22nd, and began to resume work on the 24th, and since then I have gradually gained strength, and am, the French Fathers now think, greatly benefited by it, being now quite acclimatised. During my delirium many of my black men ran away thinking I had the devil in me. Then comes, for writing, an uninteresting time, transport and office work, gardening, road-making : of the latter we made broad and ditched roads all round the Boma, and I have since done several miles of a ten-foot road, raised and ditched on both sides towards Kasama. Cookson was out census-taking a large part of December, returning on the 30th after a successful but very wet trip. The French Fathers all came from Kilonga for the New Year, and we returned their visit for the Fêtes des Rois, and now Cookson is preparing to leave me to take charge of Kasama station, being promoted, and I remain here alone probably till the dry season, beginning April, when the heavy stress of transport work will make it necessary for me to have another man here.

It will, I hope, be obvious from these letters, dull as they must perforce be from their concentrated nature, that I enjoy this life immensely. The work is interesting and healthy, there is any amount of sport to be had in the district, puku, waterbuck, reedbuck, sable and roan antelope, hartebeeste, eland, lechwe, sitatunga, zebra, rhino, hippo, warthog, elephants, lions, and also 'fowl' of different kinds and partridges, and excellent (coarse) fishing in parts. The station has an unrivalled situation, the natives are excellent and willing workers, and give no trouble to the Boma. The mails come in from Kasama weekly, and from Fort Jameson (nominally) fortnightly, (next year, or next season, to be correct, weekly) we send out through Fort Jameson. My work here is, as I was told in England, 'of a multifarious character,' embracing governor, tax collector, census taker, labour recruiter, head of police, magistrate (for cases with penalty not exceeding 6 months) judge of disputes, transport agent,



[Face p. 390.]

COASTING LAKE NYASA IN A "DUG-OUT," RUARWE BAY.

health inspector, road maker, surveyor, postmaster, reporter on native customs, on the flora and fauna etc. ad lib; the part I like least being the monthly accounts and quarterly reports, not however very formidable. The 'books' here are simple, being, in addition to transport duplicate books etc etc, the 'Ledger,' and 'Day book' only, the 'Journal' being dispensed with, and the 'Cash Book' and others being amalgamated with the ledger at a small station like this.

Altogether so far from being disappointed with the life here, I never thought I should enjoy it half so much. We *are* out of the way, it is true, but we don't feel it much, though we always allow three to four months for an answer from Durban, and four to six from England! There is a delightful irregularity about the mails, especially the newspaper mails that adds considerably to their charm, which, (please note) is in any case very great, and personally I intend to answer all letters. I have done so up to now, for a correspondent at home who does write is worth cultivating as such, and I shall be only too delighted to hear news from all of you and of the different places I know. Those of you who have lived out of the world like this will understand what letters mean out here, and, to tell the honest truth, there's more to write about at home than here, though some incidents may be more exciting in a country like this.

But I cannot possibly write each incident in full in a 'general' letter such as this, but I will answer all questions on any particular item of interest to anyone who writes and asks. This great country is far too little known at home. Many think it is in South Africa; we are further a great deal from S. A. than you are, and that we are South Africa is as much a mistaken idea as that held obstinately by some friends of one I know at Maritzburg, who still believe he can spend Saturdays to Mondays at Capetown (three days railway journey each way!) It would take us at the least seven weeks to reach Capetown, and you are but 16 days away. Some goods of mine left Chinde in July and are not here yet, for transport in South Africa is slow but, well, not always even sure.

What an awe-inspiring task to try to condense twelve months into a few thousand words! But I will try, and then, I think, these general letters will have served their purpose.

I have been alone here (Mpika) ever since last January, and have never had a single dull day. The first few months were certainly "slack" as regards work proper, but never lacking in occupation. From June onwards until the middle of January I have been as busy as one could be anywhere, continually out in the district, collecting taxes, mapping the country, improving and bringing up to date the census return, and, generally, endeavouring to become better acquainted with the natives and their lives. In between there has always been a rush of work, for absence on patrol inevitably means (at a one-man station) an enormous accumulation of Transport work, Station work and office work: accounts behindhand, reports to write, and the continual despatching and receiving of Transport goods. My travelling continued, with breaks, of course, from July right up to the end of the first week in January, halfway through the rainy season, and now, having cleared off the last accumulation of arrears in station work, I am looking forward to about three months' rest, though not, I can assure you, by any means, idleness. And now to describe the year with a little more detail—though the first few months are entirely lacking in "copy" even for letters.

On January 11th, 1902, I finished my last "General letter," and on the 23rd, my colleague left for Kasama, since when I have been here in sole charge. Last year the busy season closed earlier than it has done this year, and consequently I had little work, but my garden, and improvements on the station generally to say nothing of the prisoners at work on a road, gave me plenty of occupation, and it was in January too that I had my final domestic disturbance, and completed the set of six boys whom I still have. On February 20th, Père Molinier from Kilonga Mission took pity on my loneliness, and paid me a two days' visit, which I naturally enjoyed exceedingly. As a matter of fact I consider it is generally a far greater compliment here to pay a visit than to receive, for the expense and trouble are greater, and also, a guest is always welcome. The first three days of March were quite remarkable as three Fort Jameson mails (a weekly service) came in three days. I discovered a little later on that they had left Chinunda on three successive Saturdays, but that the first two mail-men had been obliged to sit down and

wait on the far side of the Loangwa until the floods subsided. March again was an uneventful month and early in April I paid a visit to Kilonga where I was received with the hearty welcome and profuse hospitality that is always synonymous with the name of the Pères Blancs. The chief items of interest to me during the month were the first answers to my early Mpika letters, and the commencement and satisfactory completion of a system of irrigation in the garden.

I had a very sad visit on May 26th. Père Foulon who had nursed me through fever and had in many ways proved himself a real friend stayed here on his way to Kayanbi, to which station he has been moved, and even now, although his successor at Kilonga is charming, I do not feel that the gap is by any means filled. By way of shewing what my garden can produce, I will mention here the various items I was able to put on the table during the Father's visit. Cabbage, cauliflower, peas, French Beans, Broad Beans, carrots, turnips, vegetable marrow, tomatoes, onions, lettuce and potatoes.—I may add that I also have a large number of banana palms, lemon trees, four big strawberry beds and a large number of other vegetables, and, except for November and December, I was never without a plentiful supply of vegetables last year, and then it was only on account of my long absence in September and October, when, without irrigation everything "went to the dogs." The next item of any importance beyond a day's puku shooting was the Coronation, and this I will copy (more or less) from my diary :—

June 21. I invited the Fathers from Kilonga to come over for the Coronation, but, owing to the fact that they are building, the Pères could only come for a Sunday, and consequently I decided to coronate on the 22nd : and they arrived on the 21st. Nothing of interest occurred on the Saturday afternoon, but on Sunday morning we had some target practice All the natives here, 150 or thereabouts, assembled on the Boma, and the armed forces (9 police) "marched past" (me), to the Band (my musical box)'s playing of "The Soldiers of the Queen," and then they fired a three volleys' salute to the flag, and marched off to "Rule Britannia," which, though all somewhat comical, impressed the natives considerably, I fancy. We then adjourned

to the Carriers' barracks, which are built in an open square, for sports. Running races galore, putting the weight (at which they were really good) Tug of war, in which Mpika beat Kilonga by the odd event; Three-legged and other comic races. Then followed the prize-giving and the natives adjourned to a huge bonfire and dance with a big "presente" of mpombe (native beer) and we, after dinner with loyal toasts, (little did we dream of His Majesty's critical condition) went and visited the merry-makers.

On the 25th, I paid a flying visit to Kilonga to be "treated" for some spider bites, and promised to visit them properly a little later on.

The first of July began with an excitement at daybreak. I was informed when half-asleep that my Corporal had deserted. I failed to find out where he was—and there was a still greater surprise in store for me later when he turned up and surrendered himself in October!

Between this and the 9th there is nothing to record, though I was very busy as transport had begun in earnest and I knew there were 1,200 loads for me to clear, (*i.e.* to fetch from Nawalia and to despatch to Kasama). On the 9th, Blackie, my sole companion (the terrier) succeeded in a fit of playful humour in breaking one of my front teeth, and consequently when I started out on the 11th, on my first Patrol for the year, I went first to Kilonga where Père Ducourant extracted his first tooth, and I must say, that considering he only had a root to tackle, was most successful.

A Patrol, by the bye, is nothing military, being merely the recognised term employed for an official's journey. This trip of 12 days was uneventful and did not give much sport, as but little grass was burnt as yet.

On my return I was very busy, and had the first real "passenger" at Mpika since my arrival, Père Guillemé, who was on his way to Kilubula. All through August I was very busy, though I succeeded in getting a little shooting done too. Ending the month and commencing September with a couple of good week-ends of which I will give a few details. (It is of course absolutely impossible to give details of the ordinary work at the station, which is not interesting as "copy," and I think it a farce



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A GORGE FORMED BY THE RUARWE RIVER, N.W. NYASA.

to give "an average day," since, though one week is very much like another, the days differ. Suffice it to say that I rise between 5.30 and 7 according to the sun, and breakfast generally about 7.30; at 8—(I am talking of the busy season) I go to the office where I am engaged with transport work, issuing of taxes, accounts, or the hearing of native cases, till lunch at noon—after which I sit and smoke and read for an hour, unless exceptionally busy, and then similar work till tea at 4 or dinner at 6 to 6.30, according to circumstances, generally having a stroll in the garden just before dinner, but as to office hours—*i.e.* work hours they are often from 4 to 9 instead of the nominal 9-4. While in the slack season on some days they are nil. In fact I go to the office when there is work and when there is none I keep away. Four days a week there is mail work, two incoming and two outgoing mails, but the work here is essentially one for a Jack-of-all-trades, and not half of it is done in the office. Among other diversions I have vaccinated some hundreds in a week. I drill the police, build bridges, make roads, &c. &c., but the *general* work is the administration of the district, tax collecting, trying of minor civil and criminal cases, census taking, transport, accounts, and generally gathering information concerning the district).

And after this somewhat long parenthesis I return to the week end's shooting in August and September. I had heard towards the end of August that there were some Buffalo on the Mwateshi a tributary of the Luitikila about 12 miles from here, and so I set out on the 30th for Luenzi's, a village on the Mwateshi. On reaching it however Luenzi told me that there were no Buffalo, but that they come there during the rains, so I turned west to a small village of Kapoko's on the Manyoë. The next morning I was up early and without any breakfast reached a neighbouring plain, 10 minutes' walk, before the sun rose, and soon got within range of a herd of seven hartebeeste, of whom I, with as many cartridges, thanks to their being in a direct line between me and the sun, dropped four, (two bulls and two cows). About three quarters of an hour later I got a doe reedbuck and followed it up by a large bull roan. Pursuing some hartebeeste and zebra a little later I failed to approach the former, but succeeded in getting a brace of the latter, the

last kill being 4 or 5 miles from the first hartebeeste, and then, being pretty well at the end of the small plain, and almost of my tether, for I was famished, I returned, reaching camp for breakfast at 12.15! About 3 p.m. the game in; and, of course, the whole night was spent by the natives in gorging, dancing, and singing. Leaving in advance of my loads, the next morning, I re-visited the plain, which was comparatively empty, and only fired at one roan which I secured. Sending for carriers, I proceeded on foot to Chisumpa's where I lunched, shooting an eagle that carried off Blackie's food from under her very nose; and then proceeded to the Luitikila, where I fired at, and killed a couple of puku—In two days eleven head, 4 hartebeeste, 2 roan, 2 puku, 2 zebra, and 1 reedbuck. . . . I was out again shooting the next week end, at the same place; and got 2 zebra on the 6th, 1 reedbuck and 2 very fine roan on the 7th and a roan on the 8th.

And now, having given a little detail, (as much as space permits) of shooting, I will copy an account of my September—October Patrol from my diary.

I set out on the 11th (September), and was glad to get out, and hope that the results will justify my going by benefiting transport and tax-work generally, but, as a matter of fact, I went out just at the time that men were coming in well, which was aggravating though unavoidable. Luenzi's was reached the first night, and on the 12th I set out E. S. E. to explore in the mountains, and after a rough but splendid trip through glorious mountain scenery and magnificent air, I reached Chitembo's at about 2 o'clock. Here a home mail, or rather a bit of one via the Cape, reached me. If this day impressed me by its superb scenery it was entirely eclipsed by that on the following day, when vista after vista of the most magnificent mountain scenery I have ever seen was brought before me, and, finally, the Nyamadzi River came as a climax, a glorious mountain stream, a mixture of a big Scotch burn and of luxuriant tropical foliage. Chipereembe's a fair sized village was my next camping ground and the next day, passing along a comparatively dull valley, I reached Kalulu's. Thence, N. W. across the mountains to Mutupa's, and then a long two days' trek, camping one night on the Mukungwa, brought me back to the Plains. Two days later



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"NEARLY AT THE TOP."—CARRYING MACHINERY OF THE S.S. *Cecil Rhodes* OVER THE NYASA-TANGANYIKA PLATEAU ROAD.

near Masongo's I shot a steinbuck and the next day accounted for two bull hartebeeste and a reedbuck. . . . A few days later near Chinchinta's I came across a herd of 40 eland, and succeeded in dropping a big cow. The following day brought me to Kavinga's. Here, the Chambezi being reputed free from crocs, I had the luxury of a swim, and good fishing. The next day I rested, and the following day, while Kavinga was collecting a fleet of canoes for me, I went out and shot a roan and four zebra before 9 a.m. on a neighbouring plain.

The next day I set out for a cruise in the native dug-outs getting good sport trolling, and also shooting at wildfowl, and after three days, with no event of interest, except that I landed once and shot a tsessebe, I reached Salushi Island (L. Bangweulu). Here I stayed two nights, census'ing 38 villages and eating bananas! Here, as in the mountains, I was the first white man to set foot. Three days back to Kavinga's with one more tsessebe *en route*, I left again on October 3rd and shooting a hartebeeste and two more tsessebe the first day reached Nkandochiti's on the Lower Luitikila in four days. Here I shot two puku. . . . I returned to the Boma two days later (Oct. 8th).

On my return I found that Blackie, whom I had been obliged to leave behind this time, had five healthy pups, quite an addition to my family. The rats had played havoc with my huts and had forced their way into a drawer and eaten seventy potatoes I had kept for planting, and had even been driven to eat notepaper, lead pencils and every other imaginable article. A busy fortnight followed, and on the 23rd (October) the Civil Commissioner came for a very busy forty-nine hours, the first time that I had spoken English for exactly nine months. A short trip to the Salt Pans (the great industry in this division) was my only diversion from Station work until December. There was an enormous amount of rain in November, which is unusual. Last year there was none here before the 21st. The first week in December I was out in the swamps in the S.W. and it rained every day and nearly all day. Swamps make travelling very slow and tiresome, as one has to be high up on men's heads for hours at a stretch (changing from one to another in mid-air) and it generally happens that the sun beams

with distressing heat when one is so situated, and the natives persp— but I need say no more except that in these precious hours life is hardly worth living !

A week at the station and then out again for a longer trip in the N.W. I left in a terribly bad humour ; I had intended to go to spend Christmas at Kasama, and all prospect of this seemed knocked on the head. However, being of a hopeful nature I did take my dress clothes. I reached Kavinga's in three days—having, by the bye, a truly terrible Russian Pole *en route* from Mashonaland to Tanganyika, with me for one day—he had arrived the day before I left. I killed a reed buck the first day and a brace of hartebeeste the second. At Kavinga's I stayed till the 22nd, getting in tax men and then crossed the Chambezi, for Kasama, which by rising on the third day at 2.30 a.m. I reached on Christmas Eve. One of my pups died of distemper on the 23rd.

At Kasama I met with a cordial greeting from J— my fellow voyager and C— my late colleague at Mpika, and also met for the first time the N.C. from the West Awemba Division and two A.L.C. men. Early on Christmas morning we had a drive for spurwinged geese—or rather a goose, for there was only one—and he appeared again at dinner. Then followed elaborate native sports, and after lunch four of the Fathers from Kilubula came over, making a party of 10 white men (3 French, 1 Dutchman, 1 Swede, 2 Scotsmen, 1 Welshman, and 2 Englishmen) with 13 dogs and 5 cameras ! We were a tidy looking crowd for Central Africa. All the Boma men were clean shaved for the occasion, we wore dress clothes and hardly recognised ourselves, let alone one another. A magnificent dinner followed, which accompanied by speeches and songs kept us up till half-past three ! On the 27th we adjourned to Kilubula, and had tea with Les Soeurs (newly arrived). Here we were 16 whites, the record for the Awemba country. Another magnificent dinner followed at the Fathers' House, and on the next morning we "assisted at" a service in the magnificent church belonging to the Mission. After which we went on our respective ways, and I reached Kavinga's again for the New Year.

"A week and a bit" more, and I got back here, after only one day's shooting (on the 3rd), when I got a doe reed buck, and five

buck puku, . . . and then after this sopping wet trip, work galore.

But now as I write this the slack time has begun again, though there is still plenty of work.

I have kept in magnificent health all the year, and except for a couple of slight touches of fever and two months lumbago after my cruise, I have had no illness whatever. I scale about 14 stone, and never was fitter in my life than now, small wonder too, as I consider this the finest climate on earth (the station and environs, not the whole district). I am delightfully settled as regards boys, and altogether comfortable, happy and healthy. I am now occupied in preparations for the new brick station, which is to be built this year (1903).

F. H. M.

January 23, 1903.

APPENDIX

METEOROLOGICAL NOTES. (MPIKA) ALT. 5,066 FT. 31°30' E. 11°50' S.

1902.	Max. Temp.	Min. Temp.	Rainfall.
April	85°F.	56°F.	Nil
May	80·5°F.	52°F.	"
June	79·5°F.	} Minimum thermometer broken	"
July	85°F.		"
August	91°F.		"
September	95°F.		"
October	97°F.		2 days
November	90°F.	}	20 days
December	87°F.		22 days
1903.			
January	84°F.		24 days

Note.—February is generally the wettest month. Owing to my repeated absences I have been unable to measure the Rain. Most of Central Africa has a drought this year, so this district is exceptionally fortunate.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE BANTU DIALECT "BAKWIRI" USED IN THE CAMEROON MOUNTAINS

COMPARED WITH SOME OTHER RELATED DIALECTS.

THE following work is the outcome of a three years' investigation pursued in the Cameroons' country, where during my sojourn among the tribes of the Bakwiri, Isubu, Bakundu, and Dualla I was necessarily forced to study them and their languages.

Continual intercourse with the first named of these, the Bakwiri and Isubu tribes, gave me the opportunity of becoming well acquainted with their languages ; I was not able to gain so much acquaintance with the tongues of the Bakundu and Dualla.

The best known of these in Europe is the Dualla tongue, into which A. Saker has translated the Scriptures, and of which he has also compiled a grammar and dictionary.

I know of no works whatever concerning the Isubu language, though there must be some such, seeing that missionaries have long been among them.

Mr. A. Thomson has left a short vocabulary of the principal words in the Bakwiri tongue ; but it is very inadequate, and includes many words borrowed from the Isubu.

There is nothing printed, as far as I know, in the Bakundu.

The above mentioned languages constitute on the West Coast of Africa, the most outlying (northern) group of the Bantu. The succeeding group (going further along the coast to the north and west) of the Efik languages (belonging to old Calabar) is not at all related to the Cameroon dialects, and belongs to the Ibo group. So far as I can assert with certainty, the southern branch of the Rio del Rey towards the west, constitutes the boundary of these two branches of African languages.

From the lists of words collected by Johnston on the Congo, we may infer on comparing them with those in our own group that the Bantu tongues have a great resemblance to one another; this resemblance is in fact so close between members of this same group that the languages belonging to them may often be styled simply "dialects."

This similarity strikes the traveller not only in the above four related dialects, but even between them and the idioms of the tribes of Benga (or Venga) and the Bakele; so that this group, to which belong the languages of the Cameroons, is not composed of them only, but must include the races lying to the south of them together with the Benga and Bakele, that is to say, must stretch its southern boundary to the Gaboon (near the peninsula of San Juan). The northern boundary is formed as already stated, by the Cameroon mountains, and especially by the inhabitants of its north-western portions, or the tribe of Mbomoku. If we should attempt to define its boundary towards the east, this would necessitate future explorations into the interior.

As an example of the degree of similarity subsisting between the languages of this group, the following table will suffice, exhibiting a few words in the six languages above mentioned.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Bakwiri.</i>	<i>Isubu.</i>	<i>Dualla.</i>	<i>Bakundu.</i>	<i>Benga.</i>	<i>Dikele.</i>
Man	motu	motu	motu	mome mutu	moto	muji
Woman. . .	maitu	maitu	mutu	maitu	maitu	miali
Water . . .	maliba	madiba	madiba	madiba	miba	madiba
Fire	mea	ea	uea	moa	ea	veja
Eye	diso	diso	diso	miso	dio	disu
One	mo, moko	eoko	eo	moko	poko	eoto
Town . . .	mboa	mboka	mboa	mbuka	mboka	akodi
Way	ndzia	njia	ngea	nja	njea	njeta
Hand . . .	tia	dika	dia	ikadu	lika	dikonji
Tree	be	belli	beli	bóleh	eli	dzeli

Other words, for instance, the chief adverbs denoting quantity or time, the equivalents for "much," "to-day," "to-morrow," etc., differ greatly from one another.

As for example, while in Bakwiri and Bakundu *libua* and

dibua signify "much," in Dualla, this is *gita*. "To-day" is in Bakwiri and Isubu *ja ono*, in Dualla it is *enge*, and in Dikele *bo*. "To-morrow" is in Bakwiri *mueller*, in Isubu *keke*, in Dualla *kieri*, in Bakundu *chana*, in Benga *vake*, and in Dikele *nakvalia*.

We now proceed to the general system of sounds in the Bakwiri dialect, with the observation of some characteristic changes taking place in other dialects of the Cameroons.

VOWELS.

ā, as in "calm—" *bātu* (people), *āfefe* (great man, illustrious), *āsu* (ours).

a, as in "master—" *maliba* (water), *kalati* (paper), *batì* ? (how much ?).

ā, like the English *u* in "under," as *māndene* = *munndeyny*.

ē, sounds like *ei* in "vein"; the *e* inclining towards *i* at the end of the sound, *fēnja* (new, recent), (15) *fēnda* (a man of strong will).

e, as in "met—" *ke* (but), *fefe* (another), *meke* (eggs).

i, as in "bit—" *minda* (old), *bilāndi* (brandy), *ikeki* (eyebrow), *iluku* (bottle).

ō, as in "bone"; often a sound between *ō* and *ū*, as *mōtu* (a man) 16, *mōmi* (a male animal), *motōba* (six).

ō, as in "store—" *mōko* (one), *mōkutū* (boy), *mōkōko* (iron staff); *o*, as in "not."

ū, as in "rule—" *ūba* (a fowl), *mōkutū* (boy), *būbi* (bad, a wicked deed).

u, as in "put—" *kundi* (rice), *ndutu* (blue cloth).

DIPHTHONGS (of the vowel repeated).

aa, *baali* (female animal), *baango* (reason), *baambeke* (sick nurse mid-wife), *baaseli* (clients).

oo, *mookolēle* (teacher).

uu, *ulu* (above), *ueleh* (a species of talisman).

DIPHTHONGS (of different vowels).

ai, *oi*, *ei*, *baikaise* (judges), *baitu* (women), *Bailch*¹ (a peaceful man, not a quarreller), *moilēdi* (a persecutor), *meinde* (a foot).

¹ The sign *β* is a labial between *b* and *v*, like that in the Spanish Estevan or Esteban.

au, as *maudsa* (palm oil) (17), *mauka* (prisoner), (the sounds running into each other).

The diphthong composed of a small *u* above the following vowel indicates a very short sound running into that below it,

a, *a*, *o*, *e*, *i*, as *m̃ba* (to-morrow), *b̃am* (good), *ã* (thou), *idĩ* (inanimate), *ulũ* (up), *eleh̃* (a kind of talisman).

CONSONANTS.

Palatal :—

j (*dš*) as in English : *jetiti* (darkness), *njasu* (scissors).

y as in English : *yoko* (one), *yūba* (fowl), *yoŋo* (a kind of amulet).

r, *l*, quite as in Slavonic or European languages generally. Both these sounds are used indifferently in the same words, and this is a sort of dialectic distinction, since the Bakwiri most generally use *l*, the Isubu more often *r*, as *mukala* (a white man) in Bakwiri, would be in Isubu *mukāra*.

One of the islands in the bay of Ambas is called by the Bakwiri *Mondole* ; many of the Isubu natives say *Mondori*.

n, as in *na* (I), *anāne* (to struggle), *motūni* (old men), *bāna* (children).

č (*ch*) is frequent in Bakundu, as *čana* (*chana*) (to-morrow), *cham* or *čam cham* (quick), *choma* or *čom* (a little), also in Bakele ; but in the Bakwiri, as in other tongues, very rare, only in a few words as *chom-chom*, (*čom-čom*), (a brass armlet), or *cha* (*ca*), (a word to drive away dogs) ; it however often inclines to be *sh*.

Guttural :—

k, *kābi* (antelope), *kalati* (paper).

g, (hard) is very rarely used in Bakwiri, but frequently in Dualla.

gina (strength), *ganda* (nail).

ʔ, (*ʔg'*, with the *uvula*), a very frequent sound, as *ʔoa* (a pig), *itāʔa* (foot), *ʔgūndja* (a kind of mat), *aʔgile* (a waggon), *aliʔgāni* (I love), *ʔonde* (the moon), *ʔamba* (fetish), *ʔgombe* (iguana).

h, (small) is used for an aspirate after a vowel, as *Mondoleʔ* *lobah* (the sun), after the vowel *i* no aspirate is heard.

Dental :—

t, *tāta* (father), *dibātu* (cloth), *etūlo* (rat), *tīa* (to beat).

d, *dibātu* (cloth), *dī* (we), *diendi* (knife), *dīna* (name).

nd, *Mondoleh*, *kundi* (rice), *ndō* (pepper, *ndēne* (great), *ndābo* (house).

s, *sūe* (fish), *sātī* (little), *Bangisē* (to frighten away, *saŋgo* (lord), *sa-ngōmo* (native dance).

Labial :—

P, is rare in Bakwiri ; it occurs in some names of towns, as *Sopo*, *Mapanja*, and in the word *pōso* (a present), but in this the sound is nearly *pf*. On the contrary the Dualla and Bakundu abound in *p*. Nearly everywhere where the Bakundu put *f* these dialects use *p*. The Isubu uses both *p* and *f*, but inclines to the Bakwiri habit of using *f* more than *p*.

b, in *bātu* (people), *bakūtu* (boys), *bue* (tree), *baba* (two).

mb, *mbūkè* (dumb), *mbaa* (dog), *mboā* (town). In the word *mambalā* or *mambarā* (a cat), the *m* belongs to the first syllable (*mam-bara*).

β, as in the Spanish, or modern Greek. *βolo* (cause), *joβo* (talisman), *motu-βokūba* (a smith), *βākise* (to be convinced), *βaβisē* (to dry, or smoke meat or fish).

m, *mōtu* (a man), *kem* (no), *am* (my), *molanga* (a lie), *mwalī* (a female animal).

f, often labial almost like *fw*, as *afēfe* (a dignitary), *fo* (far off), *fako* (mountain), *fēfe* (other).

v, exists, but is rare in Bakwiri, as *māve* (breast).

SINGULAR AND PLURAL PREFIXES.¹

The plural is formed by a prefix, which sometimes, through degradation of form, is not always recognisable. A few words however remain quite unchanged.

The general rules, by which the words expressing the plural

¹ The editor has somewhat changed the tenour of this paragraph. M. Rogozinski, when he wrote these notes, was not fully aware that he was describing a regular system of prefixes. *Mō*—or *Mu*—is the first ; *Ba*—is the second ; *Mo*—or *Mu*—is the third ; *Mi*—the fourth ; *Di*—is the fifth ; *Ma*—the sixth ; *I*—or *E*—the seventh ; *Bc*—the eighth ; *Bo*—the fourteenth of the regular Bantu prefixes ; see Bleek's *Comparative Grammar*.

are formed, so far as I could construct them from the comparison of numerous examples, are pretty much as follows:—

Bā is the plural prefix of all those words which in the singular begin with *mo*, many of which have to do with the human beings. These words have generally a long *mō* as singular prefix, as *mōtu* (man), plural *bātu*, *mōkūtu* (boy), *bākūtu* (boys), *mōembedi* (singer), *bāembedi* (singers), *mōaṣbedi* (a hunter), plural *baaṣbedi*; *mōambele* (a person taking care of another), pl. *bāambeli*, *molāna* (wife), pl. *balana*; *maitu* (woman), also makes *baitu*; but also *muaitu*, because the word was originally *moaitu*, which is still used in the Isubu language and in some parts of Bokwiri (as the Bakwiri country is called).

Mi is the usual plural prefix of such words as have *mo*, *mu*, *bo*, *bu*, in the singular. As: *molēnge* (sheep), pl. *milenge*; *mokāmi* (thought), pl. *mikāmi*; *mokōko* (an iron staff), pl. *mikōko*; *muēma* (heart), pl. *miema*; *muemba* (companion), pl. *miemba*; *muānge* (a line), *mieṅge*; *boso* (a face), pl. *miḍso*; *bōlo* (a boat), pl. *miḍlo*; *buē* or *buēli* (a tree), pl. *mieli*; *buānga* (nut of the oil palm), pl. *miānga*. The following singular and plural prefixes are as yet unclassified: *liā* (a palm), pl. *diā*; *lifeṅa* (novelty), pl. *difeṅa*.

Ma, or by contraction before *i*, *m'*, is the plural prefix of many words beginning with the long *dī*, as *dīa* (hand), pl. *māa*; *diāi* (stone), pl. *māiai*; *diāūbi* (a spider), pl. *māaūbi*; *dikāta* (shoulder), pl. *mākāta*; *disūa* (a species of grain), pl. *māsūa*. Also: *diso* (eye), pl. *miso*; *diofi* (a river), pl. *miofi*.

Be is the plural prefix of a great number of words ending in *i* and *e*, as *itulibi* (amount of money), pl. *betulibi*. *Ituṅgi* (a pledge), *betuṅgi* pl.; *ekūtu* (cap), pl. *bekūtu*; *eēmbi* (a tame animal), *beēmbi* (a flock); *efēṅa* (novelty), pl. *befēṅa*; *ibambu* (plank), *bebambu* (planks).

The prefix *ma* is used to signify the plural number for words beginning with *nd*, *mb*, *ṅg*; as *ndābo* (house), pl. *mandābo*; *mbōa* (town), pl. *mambōa*.

Some nouns do not change at all: as *sūe*, (rarely *sūi*) (teeth), *kalati* (paper, or book), *uea*, (fire), *kuṅga* (boat).

Besides these we meet some irregular forms of the plural; as for example *ndoko* (pepper), in the pl. *yundoko*; *uba*, (fowl), pl. *yuba*.

ALLITERATION.

The Bakwiri dialect, like other related idioms, is distinguished by so-called alliteration. This arises from the fact that the initial syllable of a word assimilates, or accommodates itself to the initial sound of the word preceding it.

Such words are especially, possessive words, prepositions as well as numerals from 1 to 5.

Thus in their original form these possessive words are: *am* (my), *ōngo* (thy), *āu* (his), *asu* (our), *anyo* (your), *abu* (their).

But if conjoined with nouns they must undergo a sort of alliteration:—

motu mam (my man), not *motu am*.

bātu bam (my men).

Bolo bam (my boat), *miōlo mam* (my boats).

diso dam (my eye).

yoŋgo yam (my pot).

Before *ndābo*, *mbōa*, *kunga* (boat), *fāi* (an oar), *sango* (lord) the possessive word remains unchanged, thus: *sango am*, *ndabo am*, *kunga am*, *fāi am*.

If the first word begins with *ŋ*, then the possessive takes *y* at the beginning thus: *ŋama*—becomes *ŋama yam*; *ŋgundia*—*yam*, *ŋgoa yam*, *ŋaka yam*.

The same thing takes place with the words *oŋgo*, *āu*, *asu*, *anyo*, *abu*; as *mōtu mongo*, *mōtu mau*, *mātu māsū*, etc., *diso*, *dongo*, *diso dāu*, *diso dasu*, etc., *sāngo ongo*, *ndabo āu*, *mboā asu*, *ngōa anjo*, *kunga abu*.

The possessive particle *a* changes on a similar plan, as: *ya*, *ma*, *la* (,) *ba*.

We cannot say *muema a motu* (the heart of the man), but *muema ma mōtu*; not *Bōlo a motu*, but *Bōlo ba motu* (the canoe of the man), not *diso a mukara*, but *diso da mukara* (the eye of the white man) and *dina da ekūmi*, (the name of the country), *diendi da nyaŋgo* (the knife of the mother). However they say: *sango a Mondoleh* (the chief of Mondoleh), *sui a Fo* (fish from Victoria), i.e. the settlement of Victoria on the coast; *kunga a Likabo* (a boat of Fernando-Po); *pāi a sango* (the chief's oar), *yongo ya maitu*, (the pot of the woman); *yuba ya nyaŋgo* (the mother's fowls), *lia la fako* (mountain palm); *tata la mokutu* (the

father of the boy); *tulungi la mukara* (the coffer of the white man).

NUMERALS ARE SIMILARLY CHANGED.

mōtu mōko (one man).
yōŋgo yōko (one pot).
pai pōko (one oar).
mesomība (two eyes).
yūba iba (two hens).
mikoko mīau (three iron staves).
bātu bāba (two men).
bātu belālo (three men).
bātu bini (four men).
batu bità (five men).
milo mità (five canoes).
milo mini (four canoes).

CONTRACTION.

Whole syllables disappear, and vowels coming together undergo contraction.

bālō (good men), instead of *bātu alōli*.
Bāmūl (honest men), instead of *batu ba muema*.
yānu (come here), instead of *ya ānu*.
buña bō (one day) instead of *buña bōko*.
bue (tree), instead of *buēli* (compare the Isubu *bueli*).
nasemedi (I won't), for *na asi emedi*.

babōbi, sometimes *babōbe* (wicked people), instead of *bātu-ba-būbi* (people of evil, people of violence). This latter name has become stereotyped, to signify the Germans, after their expeditions up the Cameroon river and in the mountains, in 1881 and 1885.

ndzunu ? (who's there ?) instead of *ndzu ānu* ?

COMPARISON.

A very favourite form of the comparative in these dialects is by intensifying the sense of an expression (of adjectives, adverbs, and even of nouns in the plural).

In the Bakwiri dialect the word *ākā* (much, very) elsewhere *te* is seldom used for comparison ; it generally serves for the creation

of compound phrases, as: *ākāmuēma* (a brave man)—literally “much heart.”

ākāfenda (courageous) literally “very much not frightened.”

ākāfefe (the first chief) literally “very illustrious.”

But the usual form of comparison is by repeating a word, as: *mondēne ! ndēne* (great, Great).

teñ ! teñ ! (little, little)—almost nothing.

būbi ! būbi ! būbi ! (bad, bad) not unfrequently in order to give emphasis to the repetition, the last syllable is strongly accented.

albli ! albli ! (pretty ! very pretty !).

ānu ānu ! (here, all here !).

bātu-bātu-bātu (many men),

bāna ! bāna ! (a whole lot of children).

fo-fofo (far, far off !).

tumbi-tumbidi (far, very far !).

In many words there will be two different syllables for the same thing, but in particular, to the first syllable of a word beginning with a vowel the letters *l*, *n*, *w*, *p* will be attached in the second repetition.

ānga-lānga (to read, to preserve).

ānā-lānā (to tear).

āya-laya (to forbid).

itōngi-litōngi (to surround).

ini-lini (to weary).

ifūle-lifūle (to correct).

enja lenja (to deceive).

eni-leni (to look).

THE PAST TENSE.

The past tense is usually made by the change of the final vowel *a* or *e* into *i* or if that vowel is itself *i*, an additional stress is laid upon the final *i* for the past tense. Besides this however there are many irregular forms of the past. Examples :—

battā (to add), *-batti* (I did add).

bāndā (to forget), *-bāndi* (I forgot).

bandā (to hide), *bandi* (I hid).

bāñga (to refuse), *bañgi* (I refused).

aṅgbà (to shoot), *aṅgbì* (I shot).
agbuà (to go up), *agbì* (I went up).
abā (to sell, to divide), *abì* (I sold).
anāna (to fight), *anāni* (I fought).
asā (to desire, to seek), *asì* (I desired).
āyā laya (to forbid), *āyì* (I forbade).
āṅga lāṅga (to count, to reckon), *āṅgi*.
āṅā, laṅa (to scrub, to rub), *āṅī* (past tense).
tuta (to chase, to pursue), *tutì* (past tense).
tia (to beat), *tì* (past tense).
taṅgà (to pay), *taṅgì* (past tense).
okā (to be), *okì* (past tense).
ōwà (to kill), *ōwì* (past tense).
kendē (to go, to walk), *kendì* (I went).
kūle (to end), *kulì* (also *kulele*).
babisē (to smoke over a fire), *babisi*.
bakisē (to convince oneself), *bakisi*.
tēme (to maintain oneself? to stand), *temì*.
diende (to whittle), *diendì*.
timbe (to return), *timbì*.
ōfì (to have), *ofì*.

Also :—

andà (to buy), past tense *maandà*.
alingani (to love), remains *alingani* in the past.
takia (to be in need), *tikēli*.¹
batè (to shake hands), *batè*.
ātoe (to warm oneself), *ātoe*.
bia or *bēā* (to hear), is *biè* and *bè* in the past tense.

The numerals in Bakwiri are as follows :—

1. *mōko* (*yōko, pōko, mō, bō*).
2. *beba, miba, iba*.
3. *biyau, belālo*.
4. *bini, mini*.
5. *bità, mità*.
6. *motaba*.
7. *samba, isamba*.

¹ This is a relic of the regular and archaic Bantu preterite inflection.—ED.

8. *uambi*.
9. *libua, dibua*.
10. *djum*.
11. *djum na joko*.
12. *djum na beba*, etc.
20. *mbangi*.
21. *mbangi, na mo*, etc.
30. *mualalo*.
40. *mini, mini*.
50. *minimità*.
60. *minimotōba*.
70. *minisamba*.
80. *miniuambi*.
90. *minilibua*.
91. *minilibua na mo*, etc.
100. *ebuè*.

In the Isubu dialect the numerals are almost the same ; there is however a different word for 20, which is *du*. Five is —*tano* (*metano, sitano*) 10 in the island of Mondoleh and in Bota is called *djum*, but in Bimbi *isaka*. Multiples of 10 are derived in Isubu from the name for 30 (*sakilalo*), so that 40 is *sakilalo na djum* (thirty and ten) (or *na isaka* ; 50, *sakilalo na du* ; 60 *iba sakilalo* ; 70, *iba sakilalo na djum* (or *na isaka*), etc. In the Bakundu the quinary system prevails. The numerals in this are:—1, *mōko* ; 2, *beba* ; 3, *ilaro* ; 4, *bini* or *māne* ; 5, *betà* ; 6, *betànedko* ; 7, *betànabeba* ; 8, *betano ilaro* ; 9, *betà na bini* ; 10, *londera* ; 20, *do* ; 100, *muna betà*.

A FEW GENERALLY DESCRIPTIVE ELEMENTS.

Certain elements serve to form a number of words with a general meaning:—

Mō (in the plural *ba*) conveys a general notion of a human being, simply and in all relations as: *mōtu* (a man) *mōkùtu* (a boy), *mōāitu* (a woman), *mōembèdi* (a singer), *mōāngbèdi* (a hunter), *mōambile* (one taking care of another), *mōlana* (a woman), etc.

Ng, nj, n usually begin the names of all the larger wild beasts ; as: *ndso* (a leopard), *ndtu* (an elephant), *ndtika* (a

buffalo), *naka* (a cow), *ngōa* (a sow, or wild boar); *sa-asā* (to seek) is the root of the words *mōasēli bāasēli* (a seeker, seekers), *asase* (to beg).

Closely allied to these are some compound expressions.

COMPOUND WORDS.

mōokuēli (a scholar), from *mōtu* (a man), and *okuē* (to learn).

asaoli (rudely, not nicely), from *asi-aloli*.

mojibēdi (a thief), from *mōtu* and *jiba* (to steal).

moitidi (a partisan, adherent), from *mōtu* and *ite* (to follow one to go behind him).

saŋgome (a dance to the accompaniment of the drum), from *sa* (a dance), and *ŋgomō* (drum).

saŋgombōa (a chief), from *sango* (a lord), and *mbōa* (a town).

WORDS IMITATING NATURAL SOUNDS.

chom-chom, brazen armlets, worn in the greatest profusion on the arms.

ŋgiŋgi (a bell).

jetiti (dark). It is necessary to explain that when it is only just beginning to get dark in these regions, the chirping begins of countless cicadas and crickets, so that a native on hearing this continued *jī-ti-ti-ti-ti*, calls the darkness itself *ititi*.

cha-cha (go away!) a call to a dog.

kōba-kōba (a turkey).

putu-putu (the noise of the sea waves).

njasu-njasu (scissors).

chaki-chaki (hiccup).

BORROWED WORDS.

The Bakwiri and Bakundi have fewest of these, the Isubu and Dualla most; for this simple reason that the two latter dialects being used by the natives of the coast, are naturally the most influenced by intercourse with Europeans.

Bilandi is the English "brandy."

Ti (in Isubu and the southern Bakwiri is simply *tea*).

Inki in the same is for *ink*.

Na savi (Isubu), for "I don't know;" the universal Portuguese. "Nãõ save."

Manuã (man of war).

Queeni, for the Queen (Victoria).

Tũmbulo, for tumbler.

Tulãngi, a corruption of "trunk."

PROPER NAMES.

The Bakwiri have no distinction equivalent to Christian names and surnames. Parents give their children a name from among those in general use, sometimes two; or if the name is a common one, they add that of the father for the sake of distinction; but only in the case of adults.

Their names are derived from animals or other objects as:—

Moleŋge (a sheep).

Mbũa (rain).

Monika (a penknife).

Ŋgendo (a great lizard).

Njuŋgo (handsome).

Ėkua (the cover of a gun).

or else names without any meaning, as *Keka*, *Ndibe*, *Ekða*, *Diko*, *Njonje*.

There are usually the same names used for women as for men. Still there are a few special names for women, as *Mondũua*, *Aune*^h, *Titi*.

The natives have also invented some geographical expressions.

Thus, the island of Fernando Po, with which they have no intercourse at all, but which they can see on the horizon when the atmosphere is clear, is called by them *Likãbo*. The English settlement of Victoria, founded on the bay of Ambas, they call *Fõ*. The far off country of the whites they call *Mbenge*.

The English are *Inglisi*. The Germans *bãtu-ba-bubi* (bad men, harsh men).

COLOURS.

The Bakwiri have not a distinctive word for all colours. White as a colour is *tana*. Bright yellow is also called *tana*. Yet a white man, or European, is not called *mõtu tana*, but has a separate name to himself, *mukara* or *mukala*.

Red and yellow have one equivalent: *tēa*.

Black is *jinda*, but the same word is used for dark blue and dark brown, as well as for dark green.

Green is *eūla-fēna* (literally meaning "fresh grass").

It would appear that the Bakwiri have no separate word for blue, but I have usually heard them when they were shown green, and wanted blue, say: *eūla-fēha-fēfe*, or "another green."

Blue cloth however they style by a particular name: *ndūtu*.

RECKONING OF TIME.

The ideas of "to-morrow" and "yesterday" are expressed by no distinct words, both alike are called *muele*. The precise meaning must be inferred from the circumstances, but if a more particular description is needed, the native who expressly means "yesterday" will add *mbusa*, *Mbusa mbusa* (i.e. to-morrow backwards).

"The day after to-morrow" is expressed by two days, *ibūnga iba*. "Every day" is *būnya-na-bunya*, i.e. "day and day." They are fond of expressing "always" by repeating the syllable *te*, as *te, te, te*.

The counting of time is by months and days; the first are naturally reckoned by the state of the moon. If they wish to denote a longer space of time and their memory serves them—which it very seldom does—they say a thing occurred so many rainy seasons ago.

As regards the hours of the day they have a word for noonday only, *muese*. The rising and setting of the sun are more or less fixed points for the Bakwiri, considering that the Cameroon Mountains are only four degrees from the equator, so that setting and rising must occur all the year round at practically the same hour.

REMARKS ON CONTRACTIONS.

The syntax of these dialects is extremely simple, the native expresses himself in short sentences, also he usually omits words connecting some parts of the sentence, as for example *okā* (is) or the particle *a* (*na, la, ja*), equivalent to "of." For instance: *ndsū nu?* (who is there?), which should be *ndsūkā anu?* or *a ndzi* (he is high souled), instead of *a okā ndzi*, or *sāngombōa na*

ndaba, instead of *Sango a mbōa oka na ndabo* (the lord of the town is at home), *mōtu Lōba^a* (man of God), *nama ngōa* (boar meat), *nama ŋaka* (cow meat), and so on.

The future tense is expressed by the help of the word *aliŋgani* (I will, I desire), as *aliŋgani taŋgà* (I will pay), *aliŋgani ofi* (I will have). Relations between objects are expressed by the particle *a* (*na, la, ya*), (of), *te nate* (to) *eti, a mōtu* (of the man), *a tata* (of the father), *a nango* (of the mother), *te tata*, etc.

The personal pronoun is often omitted before the verb ; for example : " I have no meat, but to-morrow I will have some," is expressed thus : (*Na*) *Asi ōfi nama yauōno, nde (na) aliŋgani ōfi muele fungi* (I forgot), instead of *nafungi, abi* (I sold), instead of *na abi*.

As to the order of words we must observe that the object must always follow the verb, the assertion after the subject, to which it belongs ; as : *sango tia mokutu* (the lord beats the boy), *mōtu buaŋ aliŋgani balana libua* (the rich man likes many wives) *mukara ōnu abi ndābo monēne na kuŋga moko* (that white man sold a great house and one boat), *mōtu lōbo moeni ia sūe fenja* (the stranger fisherman brings fresh fish), *nasi bandi ekumi aloli anyo !* (I shall never forget your beautiful country).

To conclude, the native method of expression is short, pithy and broken. As an example I will quote the native chief Nanga Sihi's account of one of our own journeys.

Mukara agbwi na fako, anu batu-ba Mokōnya abisē uēse uēse ! Mukara ofi muhumba-na-mbeŋge libua ! na aŋgbi ! aaŋgbii ! nde Sango Mokonya ua batu na mbōa aaŋgbii mayāi, na yōli na fāu na moōnye ! uamise ! Mukāra timbembusa !

(The white man went by the mountain—here the people of Mokonya overturned all, all ! The white man had guns from far away—many—and he shot, he shot ; but the chief of Mokonya and the people of the town threw stones, wood, knives, earth ! quickly ! quickly ! the white man returned !)

INTERJECTIONS.

The native exclamations are characteristic. They are usually short vowels, often repeated, partly of one syllable, sometimes of two, occasionally more.

āið ! exclamation of astonishment.

eʔ ! meaning "I understand."

i ! (yes).

kem ! (no !) often repeated twice.

cha ! cha ! "go away !" principally used to drive off dogs.

na ui ! (I understand).

e ? ! to express incredulity.

In uttering these exclamations an important quantity is the peculiar intonation, which it is impossible to give in writing.

We can however give some explanations in writing, at the same time answering some of those questions, which Darwin has recommended to travellers, inviting their observations among native races in these particulars.

(1) The Bakwiri native, when surprised and exclaiming *āyð*, opens his mouth, throwing his head backwards, raises his eyebrows, and gazes at the object or the person, which has astonished him.

(2) If on speaking to him the matter appeals to his conviction after listening attentively, he bends forward his head suddenly, throws his lower jaw forward, and calls out, making a motion with his hand, as if bowing: *ehé* !

(3) In making a simple affirmation he throws his head backwards, exclaiming *I* !

(4) In ordinary quiet contradiction, he shakes his head (often turning it to one side only), calling out *kem* !

If, however, he becomes irritated in the argument, he adds a violent shaking of the arms.

(5) When crying *cha ! cha ! cha !* the native claps his hands, and shakes his head at each repetition of *cha* !

(6) *Na ui* ! means "I understand," but is spoken with a cunning expression of the face. The native shakes his head, slightly raised, and lifts his eyebrows slightly.

(7) To express incredulity the native half opens his mouth, lifts one eyebrow, bends his head forward, and, looking aside, exclaims with a high-pitched intonation, *e* !

STEPHEN ROGOZINSKI.

(Translated by MAUDE A. BIGGS.)

NOTE ON CLICKS IN THE BANTU LANGUAGES

IT is generally conceded that the clicks which occur in Xosa, in Zulu, and, to a limited extent in Sesuto, have been borrowed from the Hottentots. Accordingly we find a greater number of click-words, though not a greater variety of clicks, used by the Xosas than by the Zulus, the former having been more in contact with the previous occupants of the country than the latter. Dr. McCall Theal (*History of South Africa*, II., 196) says that the clicks "were introduced by females spared when the hordes to which they belonged were conquered, as is evident, not only from tradition, but from the words in which they occur being chiefly those pertaining to the occupations of women." This, however, scarcely holds good, at least as far as Zulu is concerned, as the following list of words (which might easily be made longer) will show. (It is scarcely necessary to point out that *c* stands for the dental click, *q* for the palatal, and *x* for the lateral).

icala	= a debt, lawsuit,
isigcogco	= a man's head-ring,
incwadi	= a message ; hence a letter, book, etc.,
icebo	= a device,
isiceme	= a line or row of men,
icakide	= a weasel,
umcibitsholo	= an arrow,
iqawe	= a brave man,
iqude	= a cock,
iqanda	= an egg,
inqola	= a waggon,
amahwangqa	= whiskers,
uxamu	= an iguana,
ixegu	= an old man,
isigaxa	= a lump, mass :—

together with the verbs *-cela* (ask), *-cita* (destroy), *-qina* (be strong), *-qala* (begin), *-qeda* (finish), *-xotsha* (drive out, as cattle) and a good many others. None of these words can be called specially appropriate to women ; but it is possible that they, or some of them, were borrowed from the captives by Zulu women, or in certain cases, perhaps even by men, to replace words which could not be used on account of *uku-hlonipa*. The Mafianja *mlandu*, pretty well corresponding in meaning to *icala*, is found in several cognate languages of the south-eastern region, but not in Zulu ; is it too much to conjecture that it might have been tabooed as the name of a chief Umlandu, and the Hottentot *icala* (or the word which now appears in this form) adopted in its place ?

On the other hand, the following words may be accounted distinctively feminine in character :—

- iqoma* = a basket for holding mealies,
- coleka* = to be fine (as flour, etc.),
- colisa* = to grind fine,
- icansi* = a rush sleeping-mat (usually made by women),
- umcaba* = boiled mealies,
- buqa* = to harrow in seed.

Isicatulo (a shoe) is probably a recent word, introduced (along with the thing) by missionaries. The derivation, according to Dr. R. J. Colenso (whose assistance, in this and other points, I gratefully acknowledge) is from *uku-catula*, to walk slowly, toddle, (as small children : this might well be a woman's word), which, in its turn, comes from *ukuti catu* (much the same meaning). *Catu* is one of those interjectional adjectives or adverbs (usually introduced, and brought into grammatical connection by the verb "to say"), which are a characteristic feature of the Bantu languages. (It is worth noting that, in Zulu, a large number of these contain clicks.)

It is natural to suppose that the words containing clicks were borrowed from the Hottentot language, rather than that the clicks were imported into words of Bantu origin. Accordingly, the Rev. J. Torrend says that "among the Kafir words which contain clicks, there are few which have equivalents radically

identical with them in other Bantu languages. But, in Appleyard's *Kafir Grammar* (a work which, though published many years ago, and needing some corrections where the outlying languages are concerned, contains a great deal of sound learning), we read :

"It would be wrong to suppose, however, that every word which contains a click sound is of Hottentot derivation. It may well be doubted, indeed, whether any click-words have come from that source except a few nouns, and perhaps a few particles. The fact appears to be that the Kafirs have substituted the Hottentot clicks for other characters, and have thus simply changed the form and sound of their own words. This is borne out by the comparison of a few roots, where both the original and the adopted form of words are still in use. Thus :

namatela	and ncamatela	= to stick to,
nyamekela	and ncamekela	= to care for,
tyabatyabaza	and cabacabaza	= to walk in fear,
isitywetywe	and isicwecwe	= a flat object,
tyatyamba	and qaqamba	= to yield pain,
nyotula	and ncotula	= to pluck out,
tsitsha	and tshica	= to spit,
twebula	and xwebula	= to bark trees,
qika	and qika	= to comprehend,
hluma	and cuma	= to grow,
tyanda	and canda	= to cleave,
tola	and cola	= to pick up."

It might be objected that, in the absence of further proof, it would be difficult to tell which of these two alternate forms is the original. The click being presumably the more difficult sound, it would seem more reasonable to suppose that it had been modified than added : the question could only be decided by finding these words in other Bantu languages. The only one of which I could say for certain that this is the case is *tola*, which exists, with the same meaning, in Mañanja, and perhaps elsewhere. But further research might reveal analogues to the others.

Before I had seen Father Torrend's book, I had for some time been endeavouring to discover (chiefly in Mañanja) the

analogues to Zulu click-words, and had been struck by the extreme difficulty of finding any. I should be glad to know if any student of African languages can add to the list; but must premise that I should be very sorry to dogmatize on the subject, and do not by any means feel certain (except, perhaps, in the case of *cima*) that the words compared are really the same.

Cima = to extinguish (a light, etc.). Mañanja, *sima* (which properly means "to go out," the causative *zimitsa* being equivalent to the usual Zulu meaning) Swahili, *sima*. Herero, *thema*, (*th* as in "that"); Sechwana, *tima*; Duala, *dima*; Kongo, *jima*; Bobangi, (Middle Congo) *limwa* ("to go out") and *limwisa* ("to put out"). Herr Meinhof (*Lautelehre der Bantusprachen*, p. 172) suggests the primitive form "*lima*, *ndima*, erlöschen." (With this may be compared Mañanja *mdima*, "darkness"). It seems unlikely that such an obviously Bantu word could have been borrowed from a race whose known linguistic influence was only exercised on the southern extremity of the Bantu area.

-ncane = small. Mañanja *-ng'ono*. This latter form, so far as I have been able to discover, stands alone. In fact, the words meaning "small" are exceedingly divergent, and it seems impossible to reduce them to a common root. Yao *-nandi*, Swahili *-dogo*, Ronga *-tongo*, Zeguha *-dodo*, Nyamwezi *-guhi* (probably identical with the word for "short"); Kongo *-akete* (this is perhaps connected with Bobangi and Lunyoro *-ke*), and Luganda *-tono*, may serve as specimens. Meinhof gives no primitive form for this word, while *-kulu*, "large," and *-kupi*, "short," occur in his list of "Ur-Bantu" roots. The "ringing *ng*" (*ŋ*) seems quite a possible sound to be substituted for the nasalized click (*nc*) by those unable to pronounce the latter. The isolated position of the Mañanja word suggests the question

whether it could have been borrowed—if not from the Hottentot, from some language allied to it. Sir H. H. Johnston has expressed the opinion that the tribes about Mount Mlanje show traces of a pre-Bantu element. Various points in the physique and customs of the Mañanja, especially of the small, wiry people west of the Shire, commonly, but inaccurately called “Angoni,” would seem to point to the same conclusion. If it be true that the Hottentots are of North African origin, and directly or indirectly connected with Egypt, we have, perhaps, here a hint as to the *provenance* of those industries, spinning, weaving, smith’s work, etc., in which the Mañanja, Mashona, and other more or less subject tribes have the advantage of their Zulu conquerors. The similarity of implements, processes, patterns, etc., to those used by the ancient Egyptians has often been pointed out.

Isicamelo = a wooden pillow, or rather neck-rest (of the kind used in Africa from time immemorial, and found in Egyptian tombs):—Mañanja, *mtsamiro*, from *tsamira*, to lean upon. *Ts* is a combination which never occurs in Zulu, though it does in Xosa; it seems a very natural substitute for the dental click. *Tsamira* and *camela* would be the “applied” forms of a verb *cama* or *tsama*: which of these is original and which derived, comparative philology has yet to determine.

Iciba = a pool, might be Mang’anja *dsiwe*: the sound-shifting *b = w* is of regular occurrence (cf. Z. *ukubaba* = M. *kuwawa*) and the *d* (or “hardened stem”) takes the place of the lost prefix *ɪ(li)*. There is also a Zulu word (with a different class-prefix) *isi-siba*.

-cwazimula = to shine, glitter. Mañanja, *nasimira* (from *nasi*, adj. or adv.).

- qoñqota = to knock; Mañanja, *gogoda* or *guguda*; but they might be independent onomatopœias.
- enqaka = to 'catch (a ball, etc.), Mañanja, *yaka* as in "Ndiye wa ku yaka mpira"—"he is one who catches the ball" (mpira) (= he is one of the players).
- Iqanda = an egg; Ronga *tanda*. Yao, (*li*)*ndanda*. I cannot find any further parallels to these forms. Mañanja, *dsira*; Swahili, *yayi*. The roots *-yi*, *-gi*, and *-ki*, seem of frequent occurrence.

In a list of Zulu words as used by Chekusi's Angoni, which I took down at Ntumbi (West Shiré District) in 1894, I find the words *amaqanda* (eggs), *isixwembe* (a wooden ladle), and *licansi* (a mat), all written with a *k*, subsequently corrected to *c*. This is more probably because my ear failed to discriminate between the clicks, than because my informant (a very intelligent old woman, who had lived for a long time at Chekusi's kraal, but, I think, was not a Zulu by birth) pronounced them alike; but it is possible that, in the course of their northern wanderings, the Angoni have reduced the three sounds to one. M. Edouard Foa (*Du Zambèse au Congo Français*, p. 74) says that Mpezeni's people called the head-ring (*isigcogco*) *chijojo*, which looks as though they had substituted *j* (probably the French sound as in *jeune* is intended) for the soft dental click *gc*; but it is also possible that M. Foa (or his Mang'anja boys, if he did not get the information direct,) failed, like myself, to catch the click.

It is perhaps worth noting, by the way, that the Angoni, like the Xosas, drop the first *i* only, of the prefix *ili*, which the Zulus contract into *i*, and say *lilanga* (*ilanga*), *lisulu*, *licansi*, etc. The prefix *umu* is shortened into *mu* rather than *um*: *mufana* for *umfana*; and the *a* of *ama* is usually dropped, as in Mang'anja (*maqanda*, etc.), except in the case of monosyllabic roots:—*ama-fu*, *ama-nsi*, etc.

A. WERNER.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

IT appears to the Editor of this Journal somewhat regrettable that the compilers of the Zulu dictionaries and grammars in South Africa, and the Government of Natal should have adopted such symbols as *c*, *q*, and *x*, to indicate the clicks used in the Southern Bantu languages. This is an obstacle to that uniformity of phonetic spelling which should gradually prevail throughout the civilized world. *C* is already being used increasingly as a symbol for the *ch* sound in *church*. *Q* is already secured as the equivalent in the Roman alphabet to the Arabic *ق*; *x* is likewise to be employed as a more convenient rendering of the Greek letter *χ* which stands for the strong aspirate-guttural *kʰ*. The employment therefore of these letters in the orthography of the Zulu and Kafir dialects is most confusing, in as much as across the Zambezi the symbols *c*, *q*, and *x* are employed in quite a different sense. It would seem to the Editor as though the most satisfactory way of rendering the clicks in the Zulu language (similarly for Hottentot and Bushmen also) would be to adopt the symbols proposed by Lepsius in his Standard Alphabet. If this were done | would stand for the dental click represented in Natal spelling by the letter *c*, | would stand for the palatal (*q*), and || for the lateral (*x*).

Miss Werner has taken up a most interesting subject, and it is to be hoped that she will be able to pursue her researches further. The presence of clicks in the Zulu-Kafir dialects is a remarkable feature, by no means easy to explain. We now know that the ancestors of the Zulus entered Africa south of the Zambezi last of all the Bantu tribes, and consequently they were the last to come into contact with the Hottentot-Bushmen. They were preceded centuries before by the ancestors of the Bechuana, and of the various tribes in the southern watershed of the lower Zambezi. None of these tribes, which of all the Modern Bantu Negroes came first into contact with the Hottentots, adopted any of these clicks into their languages; it is therefore strange that the Zulus should have done so. It probably arose from their pioneers penetrating farther into the Hottentot country in the extreme south of Africa and intermarrying more with the

Hottentot women. Yet the Bechuana in all their tribes (as may be seen by their physique) obviously mingled to a very considerable extent with the Hottentots whom they first encountered, without however adopting the clicks of their mothers and wives. Linguistically speaking, the Zulu language comes from the same original stock no doubt as that which produced the Sechuana and many of the languages spoken in South-East Africa ; but it was the last to arrive from East-Central Africa where the parent tongue was spoken . . . probably to the south or south-west of Tanganyika. The Zulu language contains some very archaic characteristics coupled with a remarkable differentiation in vocabulary, seemingly due to the spontaneous creation of new roots when the Zulus became settled in South Africa. It is certainly remarkable that in the Zulu dialects which linger to the west and east of Lake Nyasa (and which are due to the invasion of those countries by Zulu hordes from the direction of the Transvaal in the early part of the 19th Century) have in many cases lost the use of clicks, or the click has slid into a consonant like *j* or *k* or *t*. Another feature of these East-Central African Zulu dialects which is noteworthy is the older forms of the 7th and 8th prefixes, which instead of being *si* and *zi* are *ci* (chi) and *vi*.¹ These changes are due no doubt to inter-marriage with the local races, whose tongues could not manage the clicks, and who preferred to retain the forms of the 7th and 8th prefixes which in their Zulu corruptions tend to be inconveniently assimilated with the 10th prefix (*si*— or *θi*—).

In many of the Eastern and East-Central Bantu dialects there are indeterminate consonants, hiatuses, catchings of the breath which bear a great similarity to clicks. The nasal sound *ŋ* (which is equivalent to the sound of *ng* in the English word *ringing*) often sounds very much like a cerebral click. Actual clicks occur also in one or two unclassified languages of Hottentot affinities in German East Africa. Sounds not unlike clicks are used by the Congo Pygmies of the Ituri district in East-Central Africa. In their case they substitute a sound which might be described as a faucal click (a sound made by the uvula) for the ordinary *k* of the adjoining Bantu and Mbuba dialects. It is conceivable therefore that the Zulu clicks may

¹ Originally in the Bantu mother tongue *Ki* and *Bi*—.

have arisen independently of the influence of the Hottentot language, may be in fact a fanciful corruption of such consonants as *k*, *g*, *d*, or *t*. We have already had to note the strange aspirated *l* which in Zulu often replaces an original Bantu *j*, *t*, or other dental or palatal breathings. But a great deal of further light will be thrown on this subject by etymological researches, by careful comparison of the words which contain clicks in Zulu with the general Bantu vocabulary in order to see to what extent the click words are of Bantu origin. This comparison would enable us to ascertain whether such original Bantu consonants as *k*, *d*, *g*, *j*, and so forth had been capriciously transmuted into clicks by the Zulu. The Editor's personal opinion concurs with that which Miss Werner would seem to express, namely that there is much difficulty in tracing any correspondence between the click words in Zulu and words which are the common property of the Bantu languages.

THE EDUCATION OF THE INDIANS OF CANADA

[It was thought by the Council of the African Society that it might be useful to the members of that Society who are interested in the education of the Negro to pass in review from time to time the methods adopted in other parts of the world than Africa in the training of backward races. Accordingly, at the request of the Society, the Canadian Government was good enough to forward a memorandum on the education of the Indians of Canada, and in addition Mr. Hugh Spender was commissioned by the Council to write an article on the same subject. From time to time the Council will endeavour to obtain similar information regarding the education of other black, yellow, and brown races which may at present be considered wards of the white man.]

IN the education of the native Indian, the Canadian Government is faced by a problem which presents the difficulty inherent in the development of all inferior races by those who are on a higher level of civilisation. The gulf which separates the lower from the higher forms of intelligence is wide and requires care. And those who undertake this work are immediately met by the question whether there exists any ground work of order and morality on which the piers of this bridge can be safely founded. Now there are two schools of thought in Canada as regards this question, and the system of education is sufficiently elastic to allow the teacher within certain limits to work at the problem on his own lines.

The first is the frankly pessimistic school that regards all the time and labour spent in educating the Indian as the work of Sisyphus. "We must however do our best," says the pessimist, "although the results that we shall achieve will be almost worthless." Those who hold these views do not believe that there is

any ground work of character, or any feeling of order and morality in the native, on which education can be grounded and they therefore argue that not only must the Indian child be entirely isolated from his natural surroundings, but that he must not see or hear anything that can remind him of his life in the Reserves. They begin by trying to pass a sponge over the past, by ignoring the heredity and temperament of the child and they too often end by finding that they have been writing their new characters in water.

But there are Canadians who hold different views. They will tell you that the Indian has good stuff in him, which it is the duty of the teacher to develop.

The schools which are inspired by this idea, make every attempt to foster the latent seeds of character which they believe lie dormant in the mind of the Indian child. And from my brief impressions of the Indian schools in Canada I think that it is the teachers acting in this belief who succeed best.

The State meanwhile is content to leave the education of the Indian to various religious and voluntary agencies which it supplies with the necessary funds to carry on their schools, only requiring that they shall approximate to three broad types, and be under Government inspection.

The schools are divided into Day-schools, Boarding-schools, and Industrial schools, and the entire system was in the first instance built up by the missionary efforts of the various churches. It is only lately that the Government has attempted to introduce uniformity, by giving the greater encouragement to the Industrial type of school which is run upon the lines of certain charitable institutions (such as Boys' Homes) in this country.

The day-schools are not very numerous, and are generally held to be the least efficient. They are of necessity close to the Indian villages, and the influence of the home is said to counteract that of the school. The Jesuits however have achieved some good results by this system.

The Boarding-schools are a half-way house to the Industrial schools, and the greatest credit is due to the various religious agencies who started them in the first instance. They are now being gradually superseded by the Industrial schools, which are

likely to become the permanent form of education for the Indian in Canada. If therefore we concentrate our attention upon the Industrial schools, it is because they are the outcome of many years of experience in educating the native, and are likely to be the type of schools which will ultimately survive. But there are some which are much more efficient and humane than others according to the spirit which dominates the teaching of the school. I remember being most unfavourably impressed by the first school of this kind that I saw. However, I am glad to hear that it is an exception to the general rule.

Some account of this school may show how immensely important is the spirit which animates the teaching, far more important in fact than the system.

It was a delightful afternoon in early September when I found myself at X., in Manitoba. Outside the little town in which the new brick buildings are elbowing out the wooden shanties of the early settler stands the Industrial school for Indian children. The building reminded me of our own Board-schools in London. It was well arranged and well ventilated with big and airy class rooms and a good play-ground. There was also a model farm attached to it. The ordinary school work was going on when we were taken round the class rooms by an exceedingly obliging Head Master. He gave us a little lecture on the progress of his children, who did not pay any attention to what he was saying, having been so often through the weary round of being exhibited to curious strangers. At all events the children who were of all degrees of colour, from the Red Indian to the half-caste wore an infinitely weary and apathetic look which did not suggest the glowing picture of happiness which their master drew. The next step was to set them through their paces, and a small boy was picked out to read a passage from his English text book, and this he did in a high staccato voice. The monotony of his tone was a sufficient proof, as I quickly discovered by a very simple cross-examination, that he did not understand what he was reading. Another, a little boy, a Sioux Indian was trotted out to do a sum, and the operation left a painful impression on my mind, because again there was not a gleam of intelligence on his face. We were taken to see the work-shops where the boys were learning carpentering and into the fields where they were

digging and hoeing. In the laundry the girls were being taught washing, and there were little groups in the kitchen and parlour learning cooking and sewing. The school in fact was run on the half-time principle, which is generally condemned for children under thirteen in this country. It largely explained the apathetic listless faces, for the children were not only over-worked, but suffering from long hours of imprisonment after the free life of the woods and prairies. They not only looked tired and crushed, but many of the children were even physically ill. Several of the little boys were victims of that dreadful complaint *scrofula*, and there were several cases of acute ophthalmia and even blindness in the schools. When these poor little children were ordered to stand up and sing "God save the King," at the time of our leaving, it was almost more than I could stand. It seemed such a sad parody upon our great Imperial anthem!

There was another reason which accounted for the listless apathetic look of the children. They were not only being treated as so many little pieces of metal to be hammered into shape at the white man's forge, they were not only being branded with the stamp of pauperism and race-inferiority, but they were also forbidden to talk their native tongue under a system of espionage. This system was carefully explained to us by the master who seemed very proud of it.

"When they enter the school," he said, "they are told they must only talk English; but they *will* talk to one another out of school-hours in their own language, and the only way I can prevent this is by making the elder children report any such cases of conversation to me. If they continue to talk in their own native tongue, they will never learn English which is their only hope of success in later life. We are therefore acting in their best interests, when we punish the children for talking their own language."

It is not difficult to estimate the effect of this rule, and the espionage which is found necessary to carry it out. Human nature is much the same all the world over; and the elder children would certainly not be human, if they were not tempted to use this system of spying to curry favour with their master.

The effect on the character of the younger children may also be imagined. Living under perpetual spying and the dread of

punishment they soon become sullen and sly ; hypocrisy and cant thus become the basis of their education, and when they leave school they too often break the bonds of discipline, and return to the wild life of the Reserves which shows that they have only been given a veneer of Christianity and civilisation. The result is also bad from an educational point of view, for they forget their own language, and do not learn another in an intelligent way. I believe this was also noticed in the case of Erse-speaking children in Irish schools, when they were instructed in English by a teacher who could not speak Gaelic. The Department of Education in Ireland has now recognised the folly of this proceeding and English is now taught through the medium of Gaelic, with excellent results.

But it must not be supposed that all Industrial schools for educating the Indian children are open to the criticisms that I have just made. I visited another school in the Qu'Appelle valley, run on the same lines but inspired by a very different spirit. There the children looked bright and happy, for they were under the influence of some kind women who devoted their lives to educating them. The school stood at the head of a lake in an Indian Reserve, and the parents of the children came and went as they pleased. In this school there were all the elements of home life, for the good nuns acted as foster-mothers to their charges, and they were educated under a system of kindness, not of fear. They were taught the value of knowing English without being deprived of their own language ; and if the elder children were taught to influence the younger there was no system of espionage. Everything was done to remove the taint of pauperism, and race inferiority, and the children were taught to respect their origin and to be true to the best instincts of their race. The education in this school was based upon the belief that there is always an elementary sense of order and morality in every human being, however low in the scale of civilisation, and that if this is destroyed there may be nothing left upon which to build.

In the same way to trample ruthlessly upon all the religious beliefs of the Indian, it is not always the way to make him a good Christian. To deprive him of his superstitions, and to thrust the Bible in undigested portions down his throat, may

produce a psalm-singing hypocrite, but probably little else. I was very interested in noticing the cleverness with which the nuns diverted the superstitions of the Indian child into a Christian channel and thus used them, instead of destroying them. I was told that a very fair percentage of the children of this school succeed in later life. They are encouraged to marry at an early age in the hope that they will settle down to a steady life of farming the land. I was shown with great pride photographs of the Homes of the former pupils of the school.

Unfortunately my stay in Canada was too short to examine many schools ; but I am sure that there are many schools quite as good as this one. Some of these are managed by Anglicans, some by Methodists, and if I laid undue stress on my visit to the school in Manitoba, it is because I wish to point out that the Industrial school system is capable of good or bad results, according to the spirit of the teachers. Great enthusiasm, great patience, and great devotion are needed for the task, and on the whole, women will succeed better than men at the work, for they can do much to remove the inherent drawbacks of the barrack-school system.

What I should like to see would be the introduction of the "Scattered Home" system in place of these barrack-schools, but I am told that the immense amount of money which has been laid out upon these Institutions cannot be wasted, and that the white Canadian would much object to Indian children attending the same school as his own. The Canadian, in fact, has much the same feeling towards the Indian as the Africander has towards the Kaffir, and any suggestion that Kaffir children should attend the white school would be received with the greatest indignation ; and we believe that there are very good reasons against adopting such a course. But the Indian is upon a higher plane of civilisation, and is capable of greater intellectual development than the native of South Africa. The "Scattered Home" system must remain, however, a counsel of perfection. The Industrial schools have come to remain ; and, on the whole, they are doing a very good work. The great danger is the desire for quick returns, which can be made to figure in the reports as so many children with so many certificates. No race was ever civilised in the course of one or two generations.

I think the time has come for the State to take over the task of educating the Indian child. Schools that are supported by public funds should be under public control. This could be done without interfering with the religious work carried on in the schools. The Protestant Indian could be sent to the Protestant school, and so on. But it should be plainly understood that the secular instruction must not be sacrificed to any individual sect. And above all this detestable system of espionage ought to be done away with. The Indian child ought to be taught English, not under compulsion, but through the medium of his own language. We should then I think never see the apathetic sullen little faces that haunted me at X. I think also that the appointment and dismissal of teachers ought to be in the hands of the State, and that they should be made into a properly paid branch of the Civil Service without any religious test.

These are only a few suggestions founded upon the impressions of a short stay in Canada, where I had the opportunity of talking the matter over with many people. I have tried to sum up what I consider the best and worst features of the system, and I should not like to finish this article without paying a tribute of admiration and respect to the self-sacrificing zeal of those who teach the Indian children in Canada.

HUGH F. SPENDER.

MEMORANDUM

Contributed by the Government of Canada, outlining the system, aims and results of the policy adopted by the Government of Canada in the education of its Indian wards.

1. The system followed affords an opportunity of securing a plain English education, as will be seen from the accompanying Programme of Studies for Indian Schools. The Regulations relating to the Education of Indian Children, a copy of which is also enclosed, provide that all Indian children between the ages of seven and sixteen years shall attend a day school on the reserve on which they reside for the full term during which the

school is open each year, unless excused for the reasons stated therein.

In addition to the day schools established under Treaty obligations, the Department has subsidised forty boarding schools, which are carried on under the auspices of the different religious denominations conducting missionary work among the Indians in the different provinces of the Dominion, where in addition to the schooling given, the pupils receive religious instruction, and are carefully taught the refinements of civilised life, including elementary training in housewifery for girls, and the rudiments of agriculture for boys. The stay at boarding schools is generally limited until the pupils reach the age of fourteen years, when they are eligible for advanced manual training at the Industrial schools, where they remain until the age of eighteen years is reached.

At the Industrial schools the educational facilities are extended, and a more perfect system of manual training is followed, the girls being fitted to assume the duties and responsibilities of a home, while the boys are taught practical farming, carpentering, and other useful trades. The half-day system is followed at the Industrial schools, that is:—Half a day for study and half a day for work, time being allowed for recreation. The religious training, begun in the Boarding school, is continued here.

2. The ultimate aim of the Department's educational policy is to prepare the Indian youth to become a self-sustaining and self-respecting citizen.

3. The results of the Department's policy will best be learned from a perusal of its Annual Reports, copies of which, for the past two years, are sent you.

Our day schools are modelled on the system adopted by the Provincial Department of Education for rural schools, while the Boarding and Industrial schools afford facilities which are not enjoyed by the white population. In these latter classes of schools the children are removed from the uncivilising influences of camp life and nomadic habits, and their mental, moral, and physical welfare is carefully attended to. Our schools are in charge of zealous and devoted missionaries who have the uplifting of the Indian race at heart.

THE CIVIL SERVICE OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF BRITAIN IN INDIA AND AFRICA

[Just as it is desirable to procure information for the members of this Society regarding the methods of educating other backward races than those of Africa, so in the same way the Council of the African Society is endeavouring to procure information as to the lines on which the tropical possessions of other Powers than Great Britain are administered. The following paper has been compiled by Mr. J. Spanjaard, a distinguished Dutchman, for many years the Director of the Institute at Delft, where candidates for the Netherlands Indian Civil Service go through a three years' course of training. The Society have to thank Mrs. W. H. Lecky for very kindly translating this paper from the Dutch into English.]

THE important question of the training of the Civil Service for the East Indies has been much debated lately in Holland, and it may be interesting to point out the latest results of these discussions and compare them with the British system adopted for our Asiatic dependencies. It would be interesting to see whether any suggestions may be obtained for our Civil Service in Africa.

Civil Service of the Netherland Indies.

A Commission was appointed in Holland in 1898, through the Minister for the Colonies, Cremer, to advise the Government concerning a revision of the regulations as to the requirements

for the Administrative Service in the Netherlands Indies.¹ The Commission reported unfavourably (May 27, 1899), on the existing regulations ; on the ground that too much importance was attached to the study of Indian branches and too little stress was laid on the general development, the breadth of culture, and the moral qualities of the candidates ; that the competitive examination tended to an excessive study of detail which must have a deleterious influence on future efforts to acquire knowledge by original research ; that though the candidates might have completed their studies successfully, they had not sufficient guarantee of being employed in the service of the State, while on account of the special nature of those studies no other career was open to them, and hence years were wasted at the very age when preparation was essential to gain any good standing in life ; and that the two latter circumstances had the further serious disadvantage that most of the candidates commenced the Indian studies as early as possible, and naturally chose the shortest road for admission to the examination, viz., the curriculum of the " *hoogere burgerschool* " (secondary school). All this had the effect of discouraging those whose competition would have been most desirable ; young men, for example, who had received diplomas from the gymnasia, or who had already

¹ Information as to the Civil Service in the Dutch Indies down to 1895 may be found in the following books :—

La Hollande et les Fonctionnaires des Indes Néerlandaises, par J. Chailley-Bert (Paris : Armand Colin and Cie, 1893).

This book is out of print, but the most important portion of its contents may be found in a general report about *le recrutement des fonctionnaires coloniaux*, brought out by M. Chailley-Bert in 1895 for the Institut Colonial International, and included in its publications. (See Institut Colonial International Compte rendu de la Session tenue à la Haye les 9, 10, 11, et 12 Septembre, 1895, pages 363-402. Paris, éditeurs Armand Colin and Cie.)

Colonial Civil Service, the selection and training of Colonial officials in England, Holland and France, by Abbott Lawrence Lowell (Boston, U.S.A.). New York : Macmillan, 1900. (Pages 113-171.)

Notice historique relative aux dispositions concernant la Nomination des Fonctionnaires du Service civil aux Indes Néerlandaises, by J. Spanjaard, to serve as introduction to a series of official documents relating to the Netherlands Indies Civil Service, collected by him for the Institut Colonial Internationale (see Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale de l'Institut Colonial International, 2d Série, Tome II, pages 3-9 et 13-81). Mr. Spanjaard was the source from which both M. Chailley-Bert and Mr. Lowell obtained all their information concerning the Netherlands' Indian Civil Service.

passed a University examination—few of whom offered themselves for the great examination (of officials) for the Indian Civil Service.

The Commission was of opinion that these objections would be removed by abolishing the competitive examination ; by admitting the candidates for the Indian Service at the outset instead of at the end of their studies, so that all who completed them should be sure of posts, and by selecting such “candidate officials” from definite categories of persons whose previous training had been on broader and higher lines than the sole attendance at the “*hoogere burgerschool*.” The selection was to be made by a “permanent Commission” carefully constituted, whose task, moreover, would be to keep a supervision over the candidates during their further training, and if necessary to eliminate undesirable elements. The Commission also recommended that the Indian studies should be reduced from *three* years to *one*, and that they should be pursued in the Netherlands alone, and no longer as hitherto in India also ; and advised that the candidates should be free to select their place of study, though at the same time the University of Leyden appeared to them the most suitable place.

This report with the added Royal draft decree was printed and largely circulated, but it met with much opposition on several points both in the Netherlands and the Dutch Indies. In the opinion of many the scheme of the Commission could scarcely lead in practice to the improvement of the class of Indian officials, and on the other hand would probably give rise to favouritism and injustice, while for political reasons many thought it undesirable to take away the opportunity in India of obtaining admission to the Colonial Service.

The Colonial Minister had not yet proposed any new regulations on this report, when an unexpected event took place which was of great consequence in the matter. The Indian Institution at Delft, where future officials at that time received their training, was a communal educational establishment, which however since 1894 received a yearly subsidy from the State of 12,000 florins (£1,000) and was under the supervision of a College of Curators appointed by Government. Financial difficulties induced the Delft Corporation, in the first half of

1900, to ask for an increase of the subsidy ; when the Minister declined the request, they decided in June—subject to the approval of Government, to whom the Commune was bound by contract in the matter—to abolish the Indian School. The Government gave their consent, and on the 31st December, 1900, the Indian Institute ceased to exist.

The 22nd of March following Minister Cremer brought in a bill in the Second Chamber of the States General, by which an additional grant to the Indian Budget was asked for the year 1901, in order to introduce a new regulation laying down the conditions for nomination to posts in the administration of the Interior and to Government offices in the Netherlands Indies—a scheme of the regulation being appended to the bill. It appeared from this draft decree that the Government had decided to adopt the principle of candidature recommended by the Commission, but did not agree to the selection of candidates from special categories of persons. Of the places offered yearly by the Minister in consultation with the Governor General, one-third would be destined for those who had a testimonial of capacity for study at the University ; and the other two-thirds would be put at the disposal of those who had received in the Netherlands and in India the diploma of a successful final examination at the “*hoogers burgerscholen*,” with a five years’ course—this diploma being held sufficient, since it is the highest that can be obtained in India. The Minister for the Colonies in the Netherlands, and the Governor General in India, would designate the candidates on the recommendation of permanent Commissions, which—if the number was too great—would submit the candidates of the different categories to various competitive examinations ; the programme of these would be settled by the Minister for the Colonies, and was to be of such a nature that general development and culture would be a first requisite. The idea of making permanent Commissions select candidates and keep a supervision over them, had, in fact, been borrowed from the proposals of the former advisory Commission, and also the principle that the training of the candidates should be carried on *in the Netherlands alone*. Those candidates who had been designated in the Dutch Indies would be allowed a free first class passage, and a grant of a thousand florins a year

for their period of study. It was settled that the training must be at the University of Leyden, that the course should be one of *three years*, and that examinations should be held at the end of the first and of the third year. This draft bill of Minister Cremer did not pass into law. The Second Chamber of the States General only passed it after forcing the Government to give up one of their most important principles—the institution of permanent Commissions. The First Chamber, having carried the adjournment of the debate on the subject, did not bring the bill to a conclusion. Soon after the Minister Cremer resigned. His successor, Jhr van Asch van Wyck, withdrew the bill, and brought in a fresh one in the Second Chamber on the 2nd December, 1901, asking for the necessary funds to establish a new regulation for the training of officials for the Indian Administration. A full scheme was not brought forward, but principles were stated which, according to this Minister, should form the basis of a new regulation. He agreed in many respects with his predecessor ; he decided to adopt the proposed Indian official candidature, that is, to designate future officials at the outset, instead of at the end of their Indian studies ; also to include the principle that on the advice of Commissions *appointed yearly*, candidates should be selected by Government, not from among those who had diplomas from the gymnasium or the “*hoogere burgerschool*,” but from among young men of more culture, more independent study, a more general and riper experience ; and finally he recommended that Indian studies should be carried on exclusively in the Netherlands, with the grant of a free passage and a yearly subsidy of 1,000 florins to each of the candidates designated in India, whose number was now fixed at one-third of the places to be filled. Opportunity would be given at the Leyden University to prepare for the examination, which could only be passed after a *two years'* course of study, without its being however obligatory to study there.

This Bill again was not passed ; the second Chamber received it unfavourably, as appeared from the preliminary Report, and in consequence of the serious illness of the Minister for the Colonies, the question was not debated. Meanwhile, in view of the suppression of the Indian Institution at Delft, the necessity

of making a fresh regulation became more and more urgent, if the Government did not wish to be without the means of providing a sufficient number of capable persons for the administration of the Dutch Indies. The Minister of War, General Bergansius, who had been put for a time in charge of the Colonial Office, decided in consultation with the Minister of the Interior to make a temporary provision pending a permanent regulation. By a decree of the 26th April, 1902, the royal assent was given ; and a resolution of the said Minister on the following 29th of April set out the rules and programme for the examination of first class candidates for the Indian Service. The royal decree, which was very concise, considerably simplified the examination ; it was no more to consist of *two* parts, and it would include *six* branches only, namely history, geography, and ethnography, religious laws, national institutions and customs, and the State institutions of the Netherlands Indies ; and further the Malay and Javanese languages, while examination in other languages need no longer be taken.

There are now therefore two educational establishments where future Indian officials may prepare for the examinations :

1. *In the Netherlands* there is the University of Leyden for future law officers and officials employed in the administration ;
2. *In the Netherlands Indies* there is the Department of Languages, Geography, and Ethnography of the Netherlands Indies at the Gymnasium William III at Batavia, for those employed in the administration only.

We may thus sum up what is required for the Civil Service of the Netherlands Indies.

A. A law officer must have :—

1. A certain status. That is he must be a Dutchman ; or a native of one of the islands of the Indian Archipelago belonging to the Netherlands Indies ; or he must have been born in the Netherlands Indies of parents settled there (unless these were foreign Asiatics).

2. He must have a Doctor's degree in the Science of law.

3. He must have a certificate that he has passed a supplementary examination before the combined juridical and literary faculties of the Leyden University—(the so called *faculty examination*)—while it comprises Mohammedan law, and the

other national institutions and customs in the Netherlands Indies : political law, and the organisation of the Colonies and possessions of the State beyond the seas ; the geography and ethnography of the East Indian Archipelago ; the Malay language ; the Javanese language. (The examination is in writing and *viva voce*, and is held in public.)

4. Or he must have the diploma of the great examination for the Indian Civil Service.

5. Or he must give proof that during at least four years he has practised jurisprudence in the Netherlands Indies.

B. An official in the Administration of the Interior must shew :—

1. His status (as in A. 1).

2. He must hold the diploma of the great examination for the Indian Civil Service.

3. Or he must give the certificate of having passed the “ faculty examination.”

C. Government officers at Batavia must have :—

1. The qualifications given in A. 1.

2. The diploma of the great examination (of the officials) for the Indian Civil Service.

3. Or the certificate of having passed the “ faculty examination.”

4. Or a Doctor's degree in the Science of law.

5. Or a Doctor's degree in the science of politics.

It should be noted that no candidates are eligible for the legal professions in India except those who have passed the so-called “ faculty examination ” ; while only those who have successfully passed the great examination (of the officials) for the Indian Civil Service can be employed in the administration.

Moreover no one is sent out without having presented a testimonial of moral conduct given by the authorities of the Commune where the candidate has last had his abode ; a declaration from the qualified “ Commissary of the Queen ” that he has complied with the law of the militia service ; and a medical certificate of fitness for service in the Netherlands Indies.

D. Officials of lower rank must prove

1. The necessary qualifications stated in A 1.

2. And must further show that the "little" examination has been passed, which can only be done in India. Or that the candidate has been dispensed from passing it. (The examination includes arithmetic, the elements of the Dutch language, and the proof of writing a good legible hand. The Governor-General regulates the conditions of this examination.)

For some of the highest posts, such as Vice-President and Member of the Council of the Netherlands Indies, President and members of the Chamber of Accounts, or Director of some Government Department, etc., etc., no diplomas of examinations are required. For these it is requisite—and indeed for all—to be a Dutchman and to have reached a certain age, a condition which must also be fulfilled by many who occupy less important posts, for instance a large number of the law officers.

J. SPANJAARD.

(Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. LECKY.)

Civil Service of India and other British Possessions in Asia.

It may be useful to recall in very broad outline the well-known regulations of the India Civil Service. Before 1895 candidates had to present themselves for competitive examination between the ages of 17 and 19—and then spent two years at a University in England, Scotland, or Ireland, before the Final Examination, after which a successful candidate might obtain leave to spend a third year in study in England before going to India—the State paying £150 for his expenses each year.

It was found however that it was a mistake to select candidates at so early an age, and that the system was moreover a costly one. New rules were drawn up on a more economical and practical basis. The age of admission to the first competitive examination was raised to from 21 to 23 years. The candidates select their own subjects from English language and History, Greek, Latin, French, German, science, law, etc.—all the subjects in fact included in a liberal education. The examination is such that only the best pupils from schools or universities have any chance of success.

Selected candidates then remain for a year on probation in England, studying Indian law and one Indian vernacular, and receive from the Government £100 if they spend their year at a University. The "Final Examination" at the end of the year in these subjects determines their place in the Indian Civil Service. They must also qualify in riding, for which the tests are fairly severe.

The candidate is allowed to choose, so far as is possible, the Province to which he will go; and after arriving in India he decides on which of the three branches of the Service he will specialize in—political agents and executive officers; magistrates and judges; revenue controllers and administrators.

The Civil Services of Ceylon, Hong-Kong, the Straits Settlements, and the Malay States—all classed as Eastern Cadetships—follow the same general lines. The age however for entrance is from 21 to 24 years. Ceylon cadets study Singalese and Tamil for two years after arriving in Ceylon, and pass two exams. in language, law, and accounts. Cadets in the other dependencies study Malay, Chinese and Tamil.

There are special arrangements for the Indian Forest Service. For this candidates are examined early, at from seventeen to twenty years of age, and then study three years at the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, for which the government pays £61 for each of the seven terms, or £427. A further study in France or Germany is required, for which £150 is given.

Administration of Africa.

This highly organised Asiatic system has not been extended to Africa. After a century on the West Coast and twenty years in East and Centre, the arrangements are still of a rough and ready kind. In Crown Colonies, generally speaking, posts under £200 a year are given at the will of the Governor: while for posts over that sum he asks the approbation of the Secretary of State for his nominee, which is practically always given. Only the highest and permanent, "commissioned," grade of officials is appointed direct by the Colonial Office. There is no regular system of preferment. But the highest

grade may be called a permanent service, and has a pension list.

The Foreign Office makes the civil appointments in the territories and protectorates under its control, on much the same plan as above sketched, except that the minor, "non-commissioned," appointments are usually made by the Crown Agents for the Colonies in London.

A certain number of young men who have failed in the Indian Civil Service work, naturally try their fortunes in the African service.

"This African Service," writes a resident in West Africa of twenty years, "is only made use of by the majority as a stepping-stone to a better Colonial appointment, in some other colony. We want a Service of our own, with men ready to devote their lives to the country and the people. Leave every year takes all the sting out of the climate, and I can see no reason why, under these circumstances, the Service should not become popular to the right class of men. Continuity is everything in this work, and I would rather see men kept in the same place and their salaries raised according to the time they have served, than that they should be promoted to some other place to gain a higher salary."

A. S. G.



PART OF THE EUROPEAN RESERVATION AT SAPELE, NOW BEING CLEARED BY THE LOCAL BOARD OF HEALTH.

To face page 44.

THE FIGHT AGAINST MALARIA IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

Sir,—After reading in the January number the interesting article¹ dealing with malaria, I venture to think it might be of value to describe an experiment which is being tried in Southern Nigeria. This is not a scientific experiment in the ordinary sense, but rather an experiment in what I may call administrative hygiene.

The essence of the difficulty in combating malaria is not so much what to do as how to carry out what can be done.

West Africa, for example, is in a way no man's land; the white population is always changing, and a scheme which one man may have will not be likely to be carried on when that individual goes on leave or takes his departure for good.

At Sapele in Southern Nigeria a Board of Health has been formed by the Government, the members being taken from the Agents of the European firms and Government officials at Sapele.

The Board has the management of the land around the European dwellings called the European reservation.

This land the Board is clearing of bush, and so exposing it to the sun to dry, and when necessary cutting drains and filling holes. In this way the superabundance of living things around the European dwellings is being removed and incidentally the *Anopheles* mosquito. [See photo.]

The Board as an entity never goes on leave, it is always on the spot, and as one member goes away and a new one takes his place, the new member gets an insight into what is being done and the reason thereof from the other members, before they in turn depart.

The Board has power (within certain limits) to levy a local rate on all European occupiers of compounds to defray expenses.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. F. DARKER

(*Barrister-at-Law, M.R.C.S.Eng., L.R.C.P.Lond.*)

¹ "The Fight against Malaria," from the *Cologne Gazette*. Translated by Sir W. MacGregor, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.D., LL.D., Governor of Lagos, with an introductory note by Major R. Ross, C.B., F.R.C.S., F.R.S., Professor of Tropical Medicine at University College, Liverpool.

A FEW NOTES ON KWAHU

(“QUAHOE,” A TERRITORY IN THE GOLD COAST
COLONY, WEST AFRICA)

UNTIL the year 1700 we cannot gather any news about Kwahu land, and all my informants were quite precise in stating that before this date the country was uninhabited. But it must have been peopled before that. I found the name of this country mentioned in a very old book, printed in Amsterdam in the year 1670, and entitled :

“Beschreibung von Africa und denen darzu gehörigen Königreichen und Landschaften, als Egypten, Barbarien, Libyen, Biledulgerid, dem Lande der Negros, Guinea. . . . zusamt deren verscheidenen Nahmen, Greutzen, Städten, Flüssen, Gewachsen, Thieren, Sitten, Trachten, Sprachen, Reichthum, Gottesdienst und Regierung. . . . zusammengebracht durch : O. Dapper, Dr.”

And I read there about Kwahu :

The country Kwahu (in the older orthography Quahoe) is limited on the West by Akam, on the south by Akumbu and Ayim, on the North by Tafo, and on the east by Abura and Kammuna. The inhabitants are very deceitful and are not much esteemed by their neighbours. Gold is to be found there.

But it is uncertain how this information was obtained and how far it is to be trusted. I do not know the kingdoms mentioned as the limits of Kwahu.

One of my informants is the old chief of Bukuruwa, one of the smallest, but the oldest village of Kwahu ; and the other, one of our elders in Abetifi, a member of the actual royal family.

Their statements were quite different, as both tried to prove that the royal stool of Kwahu belonged to their family, but after some difficulty I succeeded in making them agree, and I

believe that the story of the kingdom of Kwahu is in reality as follows :

About 1700 there were 3 brothers in the Adanse country, who were of the royal family, namely Ntim Gyakari, Firempong Mansō and Osē Twum. At that time the whole country was troubled by wars and struggles and many emigrated. Ntim remained in the Adanse country and became king of Dankera. The two others emigrated and came as far as Dâ, a small village near the foot of the Kwahu mountains. Firempong Mansō said to his brother : " This is a very good country, let us stay here." Osē Twum answered : " I will go a little farther and look for a better country, here is too much shadow, it is too low lying, my feet are already rotten !" Firempong retorted : " Well, if you wish to leave me, go, I shall remain here, I like this country," and he remained at Dâ. Osē Twum seems to have originated the kingdom of the Kotokus, while Firempong Mansō founded the kingdom of Asante-Akem.

Osē Twum, followed by his servants, left him and travelled till he reached the foot of a big mountain ; he climbed it (it was the Kwahu mountain) and when he reached the top he found that it was a very good land. He continued his journey on the table-land till he reached a spot which pleased him and he then said to his followers : " Here is a good country, let us abide here," and they built a small village on the spot. At that time there was not a soul in the whole country, it was only a vast forest. They called the village, which they had built : *Bukuruwa*.

One day a nephew of Osē Twum, Kwasi Tititi, went with his slave Kofabra (meaning : fetch for me !) about the country to explore it. During this expedition the slave died. Kwasi Tititi returned to Bukuruwa to announce this death to his uncle. Full of grief at this news, Osē Twum exclaimed : *O! akoo wu ui !* (lit : Oh ! the death of my slave !). And from this time the whole country was called " Okwa'u " (Kwahu).

Bukuruwa grew little by little and became a big village. By and by other emigrants came to settle in the country ; first came the Aduamoa, the Obo and the Nkwatia people. They begged Osē Twum to give them some land and he gave them the land they have lived on to this very day.

The etymology of "*Aduamoa*" is as follows: One of the emigrants, called Adu, went about in the country, looking for a good site to settle on; he found a high place on the rocks and, thinking it a suitable spot, came back to call his brethren. They sent two of them to see and their report was: "*Adu ammoa*" ō," Adu has not told a lie. Thence the village was called Aduamoa. But since that time the Aduamoa people left their old village because the ground was too rocky, and built a new one about a quarter of an hour nearer Nkwatia.

The next body of emigrants was the family of *Mampong Agyei*, and as the actual royal family of Kwahu descends from them I shall relate their story in detail, as it was told to me by one of their descendants. They came from an Asante village in the neighbourhood of Mampong and called Adukuro Kwā Kyeame (Tō kō boba). The head of the family was Ēsono Gyimā, of whom nothing was related. The emigration took place under his successor Ampong Agyei.

Civil war having broken out between Ampong Agyei and Osēe Apdereē of Duabeng, Ampong Agyei was defeated, although his brother, the chief of Mampong, came to assist him. He was obliged to fly for his life, and he took the direction of Kwahu. This happened between 1700 and 1720. He came to Abrammase, called to-day Akankwāse, and settled there; but he sent a slave, called Odiabene, to the foot of the mountain, to act as scout. Later on, as they did not get good water at Abrammase, they went to stay at the place cleared by Odiabene and they called it, in remembrance of this man, "Abene."

There Ampong Agyei lived many years still, and tradition says that he did not die, but suddenly disappeared. His soul is said to have gone into the tree called Odadee, and therefore it has been since worshipped as a fetish called Amponagyei.

At the time of his death his sister, Amma Buroni, had 3 sons—Odadeēahě, Ahemeretu, and Osee Abremmpomma. But as they were not of age the stool was given to Odiawuo, the *gyasehene*, or overseer of the king's household (captain of the body-guard), to care for it. Odiawuo was not a nobleman, but he had got this charge on account of his services and his zeal. Later on, Osee Abremmpomma having taken one of the widows

of Ampong Agyei, belonging to the stool, Odiawuo decided to kill him, and therefore the three nephews of Ampong Agyei fled to Abetifi, where they stayed.

Osē Twum sent one of his nephews, Kwatai, to ask submission from the Ampong Agyei's family, but they refused to recognise his suzerainty. Some fighting ensued, but without great result. Prince Tititi, another nephew, was then sent again with the same summons, and, as it was insolently received, war broke out. The Ampong Agyei's family was defeated and they were driven away. They fled to the country over the Volta, which was then, and has been since, called Okwawu Dukumǎ (Dukomǎsi). They stayed there for some years, but longed for the beautiful country they had been obliged to leave, for the palm-wine and the palm-nuts they had enjoyed so long and of which they were now deprived.

During the time of their absence some fighting took place in Kwahu. There was, on the plain, at Gyaneboaso, a chief of some importance, called Atara-Firau; he was brave and valorous. His people often plundered and even killed travellers. The king of Kwahu, who was then Badu, a descendant of Osē Twum, and the chief of Kumawu Tweneboa-Kodia, decided to unite their forces and to march against him. Atara-Firau fought bravely during some hours with his people, but at last he was forced to yield and retired towards the Volta. When he reached the banks of the river, with about 1000 followers, and saw that he was still pursued by his enemies he ordered his men to plunge into the water and they all disappeared!

Badu and Tweneboa divided between themselves the booty, women slaves and land. Tweneboa got the north of the land, from Pae to Kumawu, and Badu the south from Pae to Huâ (Krepē).

Soon after the return of Badu, the Okwawus, the family of Ampong Agyei, returned from Okwawu Dukumǎ. They were recalled by the king of the Ashantees, Opoku Ware, who sent for them through his messenger, Eseu Kaga. They returned so eagerly that they were from that time nicknamed "Kodiabē" (*i.e.* go to enjoy palm-wine and palm-nuts).

The head of the family was still Odiawuo. On his arrival he requested Badu, the king of the country, to take a fetish oath of

allegiance to him ; his intention, however, was to kill Badu and to murder his people as a revenge for what his ancestors had done to his family. Badu having naturally refused to submit, Koranteng, chief of Abetifi, general of Odiawuo, attacked and defeated him, and Badu was obliged to fly. He escaped the same night to Chhome in the Krepe land, and there he founded the kingdom known as Aotoku, or Asabi, which was destroyed by the Akwamus, during the reign of Dakô, the successor of Nkansa.

Another version says that Badu went into this direction to fight with people who had taken his wife away during his war with Atara-Firau, and that, when starting, he left the country in charge of Odiawuo until he returned. He fought with the Krepe people as well, and having driven them away and found that the country was good he did not care to return to Kwahu but remained there and founded the kingdom of Asabi. I do not know which version is the true one, but out of both it appears evidently that the Ampong Agyei clan became the sole ruling family of Kwahu.

The descendants of Osêe Twum, who remained in the country lived in Bukuruwa, which is now a very small village, and their followers lived in Nkwatia, Obo and Aduamoa, while the followers of the Ampong Agyei family lived especially in Abene, Abetifi, Pepease and Twenedmase. When Odiawuo saw that he was the ruler of the country he went in person to Kumasi and thanked Opoku Ware for having recalled his family. Opoku Ware appointed then Esen Kanya, the ambassador, and the sword-bearer Dongwa as commissioners of the country. Their descendants enjoyed this privilege about 150 years, till the year 1874, when Antwi Akomia, the last commissioner and forty of his people were murdered in cold blood and their properties confiscated by the Okwawu people. Through this act they threw off their allegiance to Asante and declared in favour of the British government, through King Amoakô Ata. Only one member of the Asante embassy, called Okaraprem, the bearer of a sword with a golden handle, being a Kotoku by origin was spared ; he was redeemed by his people, but his sword was retained by Amoakô Ata. It was after the treaty of Tomana signed at

Cape Coast the 16th of March 1874, and marking the decline of the Ashanti power. But only 10 years after, in 1884, was Okwawu officially received under the English Protectorate, and it is now a district of the British Colony of the Gold Coast.

Odomanteng, nephew of Odiawuo succeeded him and after him came Agyepong of the same family. But, as the kingdom declined and became indebted the principal chiefs, after the death of Agyepong, looked for a descendant of Ampong Agyei and chose Kwamoa Panyisi, who ruled wisely. Still at his death a member of Odiawuo's family was put on the stool named Agyei. He made many debts, which he could not pay, and thus at his death the stool remained vacant for more than seven months. At last the principal chiefs succeeded to induce Kwaku Adofo, a nephew of Kwamoa Panyisi to take the stool. He ruled under the name of Kwamoa I. As he took possession of the stool he swore that the stool should now remain in his family and that he himself would pay all the debts. He did it with the help of the King of Kumasi, who paid £176. After his death Iau Boateng, his nephew, ought to have received the stool, but Kofi Wahyee of Odiawuo's family contested it and Iau Boateng was too weak to dispute it. Wahyee having died Kwadwo Boamã and Iau Donko competed for the stool. Both were of Odiawuo's family. The British government interfered. Iau Donko was taken down to the coast and Kwadwo Boama put on the stool. He was called Kwamoa II.

He died in 1898, quite suddenly. His elder brother Wiredu was chosen by some of the chiefs to succeed him. But the election was not performed lawfully and was therefore not sanctioned by the British government. The commissioner sent by His Excellency the Governor ascertained at once the illegality of the former proceedings and declared that the election was cancelled, and that they must choose their King again, but in a lawful way.

This enraged Wiredu, and his supporters tried every means to maintain their ground; they had been bribed by Wiredu who had got the royal treasures in his possession. But the very behaviour of Wiredu in this whole palaver exhibited his real character, and plainly showed Mr. H——, the commissioner,

that he was not the man to rule such a country as Kwahu. By sheer patience and persuasion he at last induced the chiefs to elect another King. He persuaded them to choose a member of the real royal line, a descendant of the Ampong Agyei family; Wiredu was a descendant of the Odiawuo family.

John Ata, an elder of the Christian congregation of Abetifi, being the nearest heir to the stool was first unanimously elected. But as the chiefs would not have him as a Christian King, the stool itself being a fetish, John Ata did not hesitate to renounce power, wealth and honour to remain true to the Christian faith. And nothing could shake his resolution. The people tried to force him; they once surprised him, when he was passing in the town, took him on their shoulders and walked triumphantly through the streets crying: "hurrah for the King!" But he escaped from their hands and came back to the missionary station.

At last after long palavers a member of the King's family, who was at that time at Krakye, was called for, and as soon as he came, he made so good an impression on everybody, that he was chosen King and crowned as Kwamoa III. He is the actual ruler of Kwahu.

Wiredu who would not submit, continued to intrigue and therefore was taken prisoner and brought to Accra.

This is a short outline of the history of Kwahu from the beginning of its existence to our days.

W. PERREGAUX.

HAUSA NOTES

Adamu. Interpreter YN.N R. states he was born at Lokoja of Hausa parents, has been to Kano.

1. *Q.* On a man's death who are his heirs? Say, a man has 2 wives, 2 sons, 2 daughters, 2 brothers, 2 sisters.

1. *A.* His property is divided into three : his two wives take one part, two sons take one part. The two daughters and two brothers and two sisters divide the third part. If there is only one wife she would get $\frac{2}{3}$ of first share and balance of share would be divided among remainder of family.

2. *Q.* When a man dies can he alter this arrangement and leave his property as he likes?

2. *A.* He can leave it all to a relative ; if he leaves it to a friend not a relative, the family would appeal to the King who would decide as in A. 1, and each of the parties would give $\frac{1}{3}$ to the King as fee.

3. *Q.* How many wives can a man have?

3. *A.* Four, the first is head wife and so on.

4. *Q.* If a wife dies who gets the property?

4. *A.* All goes to husband ; she can make a will leaving everything to a brother, sister, mother, father, but not to a friend.

5. *Q.* A woman married with property cannot dispose of it without husband's consent.

6. *Q.* Supposing man dies without heirs who gets property?

6. *A.* If the man has a wife the King and wife divide, if no heirs at all King takes everything.

7. *Q.* When a man dies what is the procedure?

7. *A.* The corpse is first washed, then taken and laid on the bare ground facing east and priests pray for him ; what effect the prayers will have is not known, but it is always done whether deceased has been good or bad. Any man killed by King's order is not prayed for.

After prayer the corpse is buried facing east ; wrapped in white cloth or gown, never coloured cloth ; not in a coffin. The grave is then filled and charitable gifts given to the poor.

8. *Q.* How soon would the widows re-marry?

8. *A.* For six months they cannot marry, and have a right to maintenance at expense of husband's estate. If woman is then pregnant she can still marry but the new husband has no obligation to maintain or adopt child, and it has no claim on father's estate.

9. *Q.* How soon after death does burial occur?

9. *A.* About two hours.

10. *Q.* Have you heard of men being buried alive?

10. *A.* A man in Lokoja died, was washed and just about to be placed in grave when he woke up; the grave was covered with mats and he was taken home, where he died a few days later.

11. *Q.* The grave is how deep?

11. *A.* Up to the knee; I have never heard of a man being able to throw the earth off.

12. *Q.* How is the Alkadi appointed, and for how long?

12. *A.* The King (Siriki), the Mi Diki, Galadimu, Mi Yiki, settle the election, and the man chosen remains judge till death; if he does badly the same men depose him. The Siriki's consent must be obtained.

13. *Q.* What kind of cases does the Alkadi settle?

13. *A.* All cases; in case of death sentences, they are first submitted to Siriki; the Alkadi receives presents from the defendant in order that he may give an easy sentence. In civil cases if a trader sells two pieces of cloth and only delivers $1\frac{1}{2}$ the buyer would complain to Alkadi and if he was not bought off by seller, Alkadi would order all the money to be returned to buyer, who would retain the cloth; he might also flog seller. The successful litigant would expect to have to give a present to Alkadi.

14. *Q.* What punishments can Alkadi give?

14. *A.* Stealing: For a small sum flogging and refund of money. For large sum cut off right hand, first offence; 2nd, left hand. If a child steals he is beaten and the parent has to pay double, if he is unable child is pawned until father can redeem. In a £10 case the man who recovers would give Alkadi about £3, and each of the men assisting Alkadi, three 10s. each.

15. *Q.* What are the Alkadi's chief books?

15. *A.* Koran and Deli Lu and Latafi.
16. *Q.* What is the work of the Galadimu ?
16. *A.* He acts as King's deputy.
17. *Q.* How is he paid ?
17. *A.* He receives the revenues of the towns which belong to the office.
18. *Q.* What does the Midigi do ?
18. *A.* He is senior to Galadimu and does what the Siriki tells him.
20. *Q.* In a large Hausa town how many big men are there ? Give names.
20. *A.* Siriki, Galadimu, Midiki, Wargiri, Wombi, Sirikin Fada, Alkadi, Lima.
21. *Q.* What are their duties ?
21. *A.* *Wargiri*, he announces King's wishes, and acts as chief confidential minister.
- Wombi* is next to Galadimu and carries out G.'s instructions.
- Sirikin Fada*, every one wishing to see Siriki must first see S. F. who then gets King's wishes on subject.
- Lima*, big mallum (priest), lives by voluntary contributions.
22. *Q.* In big native towns how is firewood obtained ?
22. *A.* At Kano the Guinea corn stalks are sold, and it would be theft for anyone to cut them except owner ; anyone can cut trees down except those in market places.
23. *Q.* When a caravan enters a town what tolls does it pay ?
23. *A.* They pay Sirikin Kofa (or gate-keeper) 500 kauries for each donkey, and 150 kauries for each porter's load, and same leaving. For crossing in canoes 100 kauries for either donkey or man. For a bridge about 50 to 100 kauries, but only taken from strangers, not from inhabitants.
24. *Q.* What can a slave-owner do to his slaves ; can he kill them ?
24. *A.* He can't kill, he can beat ; if he kills he is judged exactly as if he murdered a free man.
25. *Q.* How does a slave get his freedom ?
25. *A.* He buys it from his owner, and receives from him a declaration he is free in writing.

H. R. BEDDOES,

Maor.

THE MISSIONARY IN WEST AFRICA

IN 1898 there were simultaneous risings of the Timnes and Mendis in the then recently proclaimed Protectorate of Sierra Leone. In respect of the Mendi rising there were these remarkable facts: that some of its most determined leaders were former pupils if not converts of the missionaries, and the aim of these leaders appeared to be to wipe out the missionary entirely.

Many of these devoted workers were slaughtered by the very men in whose towns they were living, whose sick they tended, and for whose material welfare and spiritual uplifting they were spending their lives.

The Colony of Sierra Leone has been founded for more than one hundred years and though its Protectorate has been but recently proclaimed, yet many of its Chiefs received their education in the missionary schools of Freetown, and native missionaries from these schools as well as European missionaries have for a considerable number of years penetrated into the territories of the Protectorate and worked therein.

The work of evangelization has no doubt seemed to flourish, old missions have been extended and new ones established and all has appeared to be going well, when suddenly the native strikes and sweeps away the missionary.

After some twelve months' residence in the Protectorate, I do not think the West African (to use a general term) essentially cruel, or wantonly savage, or that he is of an untamable nature; how then is this breakdown of missionary effort to be explained?

It may be said that the murder of the missionaries was but a part of the general rising, that is of course true; it is also and no less true that one of the most remarkable manifestations of the revolt, was the determination on the part of the native

to stamp out the missionary, all his means of working, and all the results of his efforts, his churches, his schools, &c.

It would appear that there are two quite opposite methods by which the work of converting the native may be pursued—the one usually pursued (and which I venture to think is the wrong one) is to commence by telling the native that all his own beliefs are worthless and without foundation and that he must give them all up and believe instead the beautiful gospel story of the Divine substitution.

Is it easy, is it even possible for any people to be, as it were, thrown forward in a mass centuries ahead of their present development and to pass at a bound from utter darkness to light unspeakable, from a crude form of devil worship to a belief in and comprehension of the highest and purest philosophy that the world has yet known?

The other method, and which is, I venture to think, the right one,—it is certainly, as far as I can learn, the one adopted so successfully by the Mohammedan missionaries—is to proceed by a system of pruning and grafting, the attempt being briefly to take the West African with his devil worship as a fact; to endeavour to gradually eliminate from his beliefs such features as are inhuman, immoral, and unchristian; and thus to induce him very gradually to alter the character of his gods from being those that hate to being those that love, and to weave on the web of his own beliefs the trust in One Supreme Deity, who is above all his other gods, and who is the guardian of all men.

Meantime, it is surely better for him to believe in the poorest sort of gods who care at all for mortals than to knock away his props and leave him nothing at all, nothing outside himself, just a poor human beast with no shelter from himself.

ARTHUR HUDSON.

*Attorney-General,
Sierra Leone.*

MIRAMAR, SIERRA LEONE,
March, 1903.

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN NAMES AND LANGUAGES

THE Editor of the *Journal of the African Society* desires to draw the attention of correspondents and contributors to certain rules regarding the spelling of African geographical names or the transliteration of African dialects. As regards geographical names, the African Society decided some time ago to follow the example of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Indian Government, the Foreign and Colonial Offices in London, and most other scientific or Government institutions, and adopt the system of spelling promulgated by the Royal Geographical Society.

In this system the vowels have their German or Italian sounds, and the consonants, for the most part, their English interpretation. No consonant is ever doubled unless it is twice pronounced. It is incorrect, for instance, to write Hausa or Nyassa : these words should be spelt Hausa and Nyasa, because the *s* is only once pronounced. The single *s* has a uniform hissing sound given to it, as in the English word *sister*. It is never pronounced like *z*, as is done in the English word *busy*. For this sound the letter *s* is used. The symbol *ñ* or *ng'* is used in the writing of geographical names where the *g* sound is not separately pronounced. It is wrong to put an apostrophe, however, after the initial consonants N and M in the spelling of African names, because there is no hiatus in their pronunciation.

In the transliteration of African dialects, however, somewhat greater care has to be employed in the orthography. The Phonetic system of the Royal Geographical Society (an adaptation of which we append) is followed in the main, but in the case of that nasal sound met with in the English word *ringing* or *king*, the symbol *ñ* is used (instead of *ng'*) to avoid the apostrophe, which might suggest a hiatus in the pronunciation. The single consonant, *c*, is also employed to transliterate the

sound of *ch* in *church*, *batch*, *Chichester*. Besides the simple Italian sounds of the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ö* represents the sound of *u* in *fur*, or *i* in *fir* (equivalent to the German *ö*). Where it is intended to imitate exactly the sound of the French *eu* it should be rendered by *ö*. The French *u* is represented by *ü*. The sound of the English *aw*, or of *o* in *store* is to be rendered *ô*, the simple *o* standing for *o* in *not*. Where it is necessary to discriminate between this sound and that of *o* in *bone*, *grow*, this should be written with the Greek *ω*, or it can be rendered by the Portuguese diphthong *ou*.

It is earnestly requested that these rules may be adhered to, to avoid any confusion in the proper pronunciation of geographical names and of the words given in African vocabularies.

Examples of common mistakes in spelling African names:—

Zambesi	(should be Zambesi).
Khartoum	„ „ Khartum).
Soudan	„ „ Sudan).
M'lanji	„ „ Mlanje).
N'dara	„ „ Ndara).
Mombassa	„ „ Mombasa).
Quahoe	„ „ Kwahu).

AN ADAPTATION OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY'S SYSTEM OF PHONETIC SPELLING.

THE System is as follows:—

1. No change is made in the orthography of foreign names of long standing in countries which use Roman letters; thus Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, &c., names will be spelt as by the respective nations.

2. Neither is change made in the spelling of such names in languages which are not written in Roman character as have become by long usage familiar to English readers: thus Calcutta, Cutch, Celebes, Mecca, &c., will be retained in their present form.

3. The true sound of the word as locally pronounced will be taken as the basis of the spelling.

4. An approximation, however, to the sound is alone aimed at. A system which would attempt to represent the more delicate inflexions of sound and accent would be so complicated as only to defeat itself. Those who desire a more accurate pronunciation of the written name must learn it on the spot by a study of local accent and peculiarities.

5. The broad features of the system are:—

(a) That vowels are pronounced as in German or Italian and consonants as in English.

(b) Every letter is pronounced, and no redundant letters are introduced. When two vowels come together, each one is sounded, though the result, when spoken quickly, is sometimes scarcely to be distinguished from a single sound, as in *ai*, *au*, *ei*.

- (c) Two accents only are used. (1) The acute, to denote the syllable on which stress is laid. The use of this accent is very important, as the sounds of many names are entirely altered by the misplacement of this "stress."
 (2) The sign *u* with the vowel *A*, when followed by two different consonants, to indicate that the sound is short; as *Tăng*, pronounced as in the English word *tongue*.

6. Indian names are accepted as spelt in Hunter's Gazetteer of India, 1881.



7. In the case of native names in countries under the dominion of other European Powers in whose maps, charts, &c., the spelling is given according to the system adopted by that Power, such orthography should be as a rule disregarded, and the names spelt according to the British system, in order that the proper pronunciation may be approximately known. Exceptions should be in cases where the spelling has become by custom fixed, and occasionally it may be desirable to give both forms.

8. Generic geographical terms, *e.g.* those for Island, River, Mountain, &c., should be as a rule given in the native form. In the case of European countries, translation into English, where this has been the custom, should be retained, *e.g.* Cape Ortegal, not Cabo Ortegal, River Seine, not Fleuve Seine.

N.B.—On any printed map or MS. document, an explanatory table giving the English equivalents of the generic terms used, should of necessity be inserted.

The following amplification of these rules explains their application :—

Letters.	Pronunciation and Remarks.	Examples.
a	<i>ah</i> , <i>a</i> as in <i>father</i>	Java, Banána, Somáli, Bari.
e	<i>eh</i> , <i>a</i> as in <i>fate</i> , <i>e</i> in <i>benefit</i>	Tel-el-Kebír, Oléleh, Yezo, Medina, Levúka, Peru.
i	English <i>e</i> ; <i>i</i> as in <i>hit</i> , <i>i</i> as in <i>ravine</i> ; Thus, not <i>Feejee</i> , but	Fiji, Hindi.
o	<i>o</i> as in <i>not</i> ; <i>ô</i> as in <i>mote</i> ; <i>ô</i> as in <i>store</i>	Kobdo, Kôbe, Kô (Kaw).
u	<i>u</i> as in <i>bull</i> , <i>put</i> ; <i>û</i> as in <i>flute</i> , <i>rule</i> . <i>Oo</i> or <i>ou</i> should never be employed for this sound . . . Thus, not <i>Zooloo</i> , but The sound of <i>u</i> in <i>but</i> , <i>run</i> , <i>must</i> , is rendered by <i>û</i> ; thus <i>Tăng</i> is pronounced like the English word <i>tongue</i> . The sound of <i>u</i> in <i>curt</i> , <i>burn</i> ; of <i>i</i> in <i>fir</i> ; is rendered by <i>ô</i> (as in German). The French <i>u</i> is rendered by <i>û</i> . Doubling of a vowel is only necessary where there is a distinct repetition of the single sound.	Zûlu, Sumatra, Bhûtan, Kutta.
ai	as in <i>aisle</i> , or English <i>i</i> as in <i>ice</i>	Shanghai.
au	<i>ow</i> as in <i>how</i> . . . Thus, not <i>Foochow</i> , but	Fuchau.
ao	is slightly different from above	Macao.
ei	is the sound of two Italian vowels, but is frequently slurred over, when it is scarcely to be distinguished from <i>ei</i> in the English <i>eight</i> or <i>ey</i> in the English <i>they</i> .	Beirút, Beilúl, Beira.
b	English <i>b</i> .	
c	is always soft, but is so nearly the sound of <i>s</i> that it should be seldom used. If <i>Celêbes</i> were not already recognised it would be written <i>Selêbes</i> .	Celêbes.
ch	is always soft as in <i>church</i>	Chingchin.
d	English <i>d</i> .	

Letters.	Pronunciation and Remarks.	Examples.
f	English <i>f</i> . <i>ph</i> should not be used for the sound of <i>f</i> . Thus, not <i>Haiphong</i> , but is always hard. (Soft <i>g</i> is given by <i>j</i>) .	Haifong, Nafa.
g	is always pronounced when inserted.	Galápagos, Gilan.
h	as in <i>what</i> ; better rendered by <i>hw</i> than by <i>wh</i> , or <i>h</i> followed by a vowel, thus <i>Hwang ho</i> , not <i>Whang ho</i> , or <i>Hoang ho</i> .	Hwang ho, Ngan hwei.
hw		
j	English <i>j</i> . <i>Dj</i> should not be put for this sound unless the <i>D</i> is very strongly pronounced.	Japan, Jinchuen.
k	English <i>k</i> . It should always be put for the hard <i>c</i> . Thus, not <i>Corea</i> , but	Korea.
kh	The Arabic  , German <i>ch</i> in <i>Drachen</i> ,	Khelat, Ladakh.
	<i>Bach</i> , Scottish <i>Loch</i> .	
gh	is another guttural, as in the Turkish and Arabic  (French, <i>Rk</i>).	Dagh, Ghazi, Ghat.
l	} As in English.	
m		
n		
ng		
	has two separate sounds, the one hard as in the English word <i>finger</i> , the other as in <i>singer</i> . The last sound is written <i>ng</i> or <i>n</i> .	Tonga, Mang'anja or Mañanja.
p	As in English.	
ph	As in <i>loophole</i>	Chemulpho, Mokpho.
th	stands both for its sound in <i>thing</i> , and as in <i>this</i> . The former is most common.	Bethlehem.
q	should never be employed; <i>qu</i> (in <i>quiver</i>) is given as <i>kw</i> . When <i>qu</i> has the sound of <i>k</i> as in <i>Quelimane</i> (Kelimān), it should be rendered by <i>k</i> .	Kwantung.
r	} As in English.	
s		
sh		
t		
v		
w		Sawákin.
x		
y		Kikúyu.
	is always a consonant, as in <i>yard</i> , and therefore should never be used as a terminal, <i>i</i> or <i>e</i> being substituted as the sound may require. Thus, not <i>Mikindány</i> , <i>wady</i> , but not <i>Kwaly</i> , but	Mikindáni, wadi. Kwale.
z	English <i>s</i>	Zulu.
zh	The French <i>j</i> , or as <i>s</i> in <i>treasure</i> Accents should not generally be used, but where there is a very decided emphatic syllable or stress, which affects the sound of the word, it should be marked by an <i>acute</i> accent.	Muzhdaha. Tongatábu, Galápagos, Paláwan, Saráwak.

LITERARY NOTES

SPACE will not permit us to do more than draw attention to the following publications, but we hope to deal with them at length at a future date.

A Search for the Masked Tawareks, by W. J. Harding King, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., with 41 illustrations and a map. Demi 8vo, 12s. 6d. (Smith Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place, London.)

An Ivory Trader in North Kenia, with an Account of the Rendili and Burkeneji Tribes, by A. Arkell-Hardwick, F.R.G.S., with 23 illustrations from photographs, and a map. 12s. 6d. net. (Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster Row, London.)

Bdtū na Abūbuan Hausa, by W. H. Brooks, B.A. (Cantab.), late Hausa Scholar of Christ's College, Tyrwhitt's Hebrew Scholar in the University of Cambridge, Student of the Hausa Association, and Lewis H. Nott, late York and Lancaster Regiment, Church Missionary Society Hausa Mission. (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, London, E.C.)

The British Case in the French Congo, by Edmund D. Morel, with a map of French Congo. (William Heinemann, 21, Bedford St., London, W.C.)

West Africa and Christianity, by Rev. Mark Hayford, D.D., F.R.G.S. (Baptist Tract and Book Society, Southampton Row, London, W.C.)

ERRATA.

JOURNAL NO. VII.

Page 283, line 11, for 1900 read 1890.
 „ 284, „ 3, „ 1900 „ 1890.
 „ 284, „ 13, „ 1900 „ 1890.
 „ 284, „ 30, „ 1901 „ 1891.

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<i>Book.</i>	<i>Author.</i>	<i>Donor.</i>
East African and Uganda Diary for 1903.	..	Committee of Publication.
The British Case in French Congo	Edmund D. Morel	Messrs. Hatton and Cookson, Liverpool.
Schilderungen der Suaheli von Expeditionen v. Wissmanns, Dr. Bumillers, Graf v. Götzens, und Anderer.	Dr. C. Velten... ..	Miss A. Werner.
Elements of Luganda Grammar ...	Missionary of C.M.S. ...	„ „
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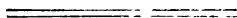
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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

NO. IX. OCTOBER

1903

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. In none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions to which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

SLEEPING SICKNESS

UNTIL well into the nineteenth century a number of distinct diseases, classed under the heading of “fevers,” was supposed to be the result of bad air (mala-aria), some “poisonous aeriform substance,” some “morbific influence,” some “gaseous and febrific miasma,” resulting from the decay of vegetable matter, under the influence of heat, and arising from swamps, marshes and suchlike places. The problem of how the decay of vegetable matter could produce disease exercised the minds of medical men for centuries. Some writers ascribed it to lunar influences, others to “diminished elasticity” of the air, or to some such non-tangible form, as the subtle aroma or scent which exhales from plants and flowers, and like it, is borne to and fro by the winds. The alchemist—the prototype of the scientific man of to-day—concluded that it consisted of “sulphurous and saline vapours,” and for long the whole subject was comprised in

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the three terms, heat, moisture, and putrefaction, duly expanded and discussed.

As time went on, and a new and better chemistry was taught, a gas theory of disease was put forward, based upon the detection of hydrogen compounds of sulphur and carbon in the air of marshes, and upon the popular belief that volcanic soils had some very deleterious effect upon health. Granite, during the process of weathering, also came in for suspicion, and as lately as 1841 a Colonial Surgeon at Sierra Leone, in a work on Western Africa, proposed the building of a series of lime kilns along the shore in order to neutralise the "mephitic exhalations" of that swampy country.

About 1850, after the introduction of microscopes with high power oil-immersion lenses, a parasitic theory of disease began to gain ground, and all sorts of lower organisms, found in mists arising from marshes, were put forward one after the other as the cause of disease. Then in 1879, the discovery of a bacillus, called by its discoverers the "*bacillus malarie*" excited world wide interest as the supposed cause of malaria, the word malaria comprising, even at that date, the majority of illnesses which made the life of the white man, at any rate in tropical Africa, a thing of uncertainty.

At last, in 1880, investigators were put on the right track of inquiry, by the discovery of a protozoal organism (called until recently—a "plasmodium"), living in the blood of "fever" patients, which eventually proved to be the true cause of malaria. For many years the enormous value of this great discovery was not recognised, but ultimately it brought into prominence, not only malaria, but the whole range of blood parasites, and the diseases caused by them. As research progressed, other similar organisms causing disease, were found in the blood of the lower animals, and the word "parasitology" began to be used, particularly in connection with tropical diseases, or what might more suitably be called the diseases of warm countries. In 1898 came the epoch making discovery that malarial infection is conveyed from man to man by a species of mosquito, and since then it has been proved that Yellow Fever can also be carried by mosquitoes.

We now know that the rôle played by bloodsucking insects



IN THE PLANTATIONS—BUVUMA ISLAND.

[Face p. 3.]

and arthropods in the propagation of disease is a most important one, and that several African diseases, however curious it may seem, are conveyed from man to man, or from beast to beast, by the agency of biting flies. We realise at last that there is nothing mysterious shrouding the diseases, of the once "Dark Continent." The word acclimatisation has now no more significance than the word miracle. There is every reason to believe that careful research, on the spot, by men trained in research methods, cannot fail to bring to light the causes of disease, resulting in the possibility of places, hitherto possessing an evil reputation, being made sufficiently healthy for white men to live in with comparative safety. This alluring possibility is of vast economic importance, which, during the last few years, men of commerce, particularly those connected with trades essentially African, have not been slow to recognise. The benefits likely to accrue from discoveries of this kind, so calculated to increase the welfare, not only of the white man in our Colonies, but of the negro subjects of the Empire, have lately received the earnest consideration of Cabinet Ministers. Schools for the special training of medical officers proceeding to the tropics have been opened under the auspices of Government, Scientific Commissions have been instituted, while expeditions, despatched to Africa and elsewhere, have achieved results, in a remarkably short space of time, which could not have been obtained otherwise until the lapse of many years, and after the loss of a vast amount of money. There is no doubt that already a great saving of life has resulted from the recognition of these discoveries, and large sums have been saved, not only to the State, by the reduction of invaliding, and in many other ways, but to railway companies, and private undertakings, both at home and abroad.

The latest of African diseases in a fair way of being wrested from the realms of mystery in this way is the dreaded Sleeping Sickness, or Negro lethargy, a disease that until 1891 was only known in certain parts of West Africa, mainly on the Congo, and amongst African slaves shipped to the West Indies during the first half of last century.

At the beginning of 1901 it was recognised for the first time in Uganda, on the Victoria Nyanza, where it was found that a severe epidemic was in progress in the Province of Busoga,

and it was calculated that 20,000 natives had already succumbed. A commission sent out by the Royal Society, at the instigation of the Foreign Office, in June 1902, found that the disease was raging all along the northern shores of the Victoria Nyanza, from the Katonga river on the west, into German territory on the east, as well as in all the islands. A peculiar feature of its distribution lay in the fact that it was confined to the margins of the lake and the islands, and that it showed no tendency to spread inland, or far along any of the rivers, or to other lakes, a point of some importance, since the Victoria Nile leaves the great lake at the Ripon Falls, a spot within the infected area. Moreover it apparently does not spread along caravan routes or roads, but only along the lake shores, a consoling feature, for the area of most virulence is now not far from the Victoria Nyanza terminus of the Uganda Railway, in Kavirondo.

It is very probable that Sleeping Sickness was endemic in some part of the Busoga province for some years before it was first recognised. But how the disease first reached the country is a matter of conjecture. It is possible that it may have been introduced from the Congo Free State under the following circumstances. "In 1890 [says Sir Harry Johnston], the representative of the British East African Company—at that time Captain (now General Sir Francis) Lugard—realised that if he wished to maintain peace between the three contending factors in Uganda, namely Protestants, Catholics and Mohammedans, he must have an armed force at his command, not composed of natives of that region. As Uganda in those days was four months' journey from the coast, and it was impossible to obtain trained soldiery elsewhere, he decided to introduce the remnants of Emin Pasha's Sudanese army, who, upon the relief of Emin by Stanley, had established themselves at Kavali to the west of the Albert Nyanza, under Salim Bey." After the deposition of Kabarega, Lugard succeeded in recruiting 400 or 500 of these Sudanese, and brought them, with a rabble of 7,000 wives, followers and children, into Toro, where he established them in the newly created Kingdom over which he placed Kasagama, the present King. Owing to their lawless conduct, they were ultimately (1892) marched further eastward, through the province of Uganda, and settled in Busoga, where they found

themselves subject to better control. These Sudanese, originally recruited by Emin, from all parts of the Egyptian and Western Sudan, now form a portion of the armed forces of the Uganda Protectorate.

From 1892 to 1896 many more Sudanese with their followers were brought through to the Victoria Nyanza, and four years afterwards Sleeping Sickness first appeared in Busoga, where the majority of them had been quartered. To this day, however, the Sudanese themselves are free from the disease, so that supposing it to have originated in this manner, it must have been brought by their slaves and followers.

Sleeping Sickness is much more prevalent among the poorer class of natives who live and work in the low lying banana and potato plantations (see Plate I), and along the margins of the Victoria Nyanza, in the islands, than among those who live in large villages, or the inhabitants of open grass plains. It begins very insidiously. The unfortunate native feels an unaccountable weakness, and lassitude, accompanied by frontal headache. After a time he becomes morose and indifferent, is slow in all his movements, his face bears a frowning, pained expression, and he is drowsy. In a month or so the weakness has much increased, he is unable to work, and always wants to sit down, his expression becomes vacant, almost idiotic, and his face and lips puffy. Later his whole body becomes puffy and bloated, he cannot walk without the aid of a stick, and in trying to sit down he frequently falls in a heap without being able to save himself. His skin loses its vitality, and becomes filthy, his movements are jerky, his speech thick and muddled, saliva dribbles from the corners of his mouth, and he is so sleepy that he frequently dozes in the act of taking food. At the end of five or six months or more, terrible sores develop on his body, sleep overpowers all else, the wretched victim, unable to help himself in any way, becomes emaciated, and lies huddled up in his hut, oblivious of everything around him, in a state of deep lethargy, till death ends his sufferings. Sometimes a whole family are thus affected, with painfully apparent results, when, in the later stages, the members are unable to help each other. In the hut from which the man in the lethargic condition, shown in Plate IV., was carried without waking, were two other persons

in nearly the same condition. This remarkable malady is always fatal.

Kavirondo, one of the districts infected, was, only a few weeks before the visit of the commission, three or four months' journey from the east coast and civilisation. Now, by means of the Uganda Railway, in the short space of three days after leaving Mombasa, the visitor finds himself in the heart of Africa, in a country, the inhabitants of which, as can be seen, on alighting from the train, by the black mass of people in Kisumu market place, are still in a state of almost complete barbarism, from a European point of view. Compared, however, with other negroes in tropical Africa, both east and west, the Kavirondo, with his tall brother the Bakedi, takes a high place. With all his nakedness, a condition common to nearly all the Nilotic races, he is strictly moral, he does not steal, he is of magnificent build, he meets you without cringing servility, his code of laws is an elaborate one, and he is most industrious, cultivating very large tracts of land, and owning immense herds of cattle. To see this fine stamp of negro affected by Sleeping Sickness is indeed a pitiable sight.

The cattle grazing parts of Kavirondo are free from the disease, but in the wooded regions along the borders of the Victoria Nyanza, the inhabitants of many districts are affected to the extent of 30 or 40 per cent. Big men and women are to be seen helped along between two friends, or tottering about with the help of a stick, others are lying fast asleep in the doorway of their huts, where they have crawled for the warmth of the sun, for the disease makes them feel chilly, while inside the huts more are to be found in a helpless, lethargic condition. In Kavirondo I sometimes had fifty or more cases round my tent, some huddled up fast asleep, some supported by their friends, and others sitting with a vacant stare, saliva dribbling from their mouths. My feelings at being quite unable to help them may be imagined, and the only ray of hope I could give them was to explain, through the medium of my interpreter, that we intended to hunt until we found the "juju," and then try and make strong "medicine" to kill it.

During the early part of the work, it was a great mystery to me that Sleeping Sickness was so closely connected with the waters of the Victoria Nyanza. Inland the disease was not to



be found. On my first visit to Kavirondo, at a spot where I had established a camp some miles from the water, throughout the day files of natives came in, some carrying upon their heads a large flat wicker basket in which was curled up a boy, a woman, or a full-grown man, in the filthy somnolent condition so characteristic of the disease. Many of them had carried their burdens for miles, and practically all came from the direction of the lake.

Proceeding from Kavirondo westwards into Busoga, one's surroundings completely and abruptly change. After crossing a strip of uninhabited land, which served in the restless times gone by as a protection to both, when the Kavirondo and the Busoga waged a deadly feud against each other, the road enters a vast cool forest of magnificent trees, matted creepers, and tangled undergrowth, of tropical luxuriance, where forest and banana groves take the place of the rolling downs and fields of millet of Kavirondo.

I had not been an hour in Busoga before I was conscious of something very wrong. My porters became silent, and, despite their loads, travelled over the ground at such a rate that it was impossible to keep up with them. For the first two days hardly an inhabitant was to be seen, except at one or two villages on the way; the majority of the plantations were untenanted, and had been allowed to go to ruin; the bananas were choked with weeds and creepers, and the fruit, instead of being picked green in the usual way, had ripened and dropped off. On all sides were signs that a once large population had disappeared. One morning at daylight, just after leaving camp, I came across a man to all appearances peacefully asleep. Something in the action of my men, who seemed to give him a wide berth, made me look more closely at him, and on inspection he proved to be dead, his face exhibiting evident signs of Sleeping Sickness. Other deaths were recorded along the way, showing the extent of the mortality still going on in the district. In wooded Busoga the disease has spread a little further from the lake than anywhere else, and the Busoga seem to look upon it as contagious, for they attempt primitive isolation and evacuation measures. Frequently when one member of a family becomes infected, the others either turn him out, or remove themselves to another hut, leaving him behind. Thus it is, that, finding themselves left to

their fate, and without food, the wretched beings make their way to the road and wander eastwards into Kavirondo. The wanderers, however, do not spread the disease, the means of infection being closely confined to the shores of the lake.

In the large and beautiful island of Buvuma, off the Busoga coast, fully two-thirds of the population have died of famine and Sleeping Sickness within the last two years or so ; most of the island is now practically out of cultivation, and the famine-stricken remnants of the people (see Plate II.) are fast diminishing in number. As one rambles through the ruined plantations of banana and sweet potato, hut after hut is found empty, and many of those occupied contain persons suffering from the disease. In this island famine, due to drought, seems to have begun some time before Sleeping Sickness appeared, or at any rate before the outbreak assumed epidemic proportions. In Plate II. can be seen to what straits the people have been reduced. Starvation is apparent, and amongst the group are several persons who show the "frowning, pained expression," as well as others who cannot keep their eyes open, while on the left is a woman in the bloated condition so frequently seen in the earlier stages.

After studying the disease in the islands, and along the lake shores, and mapping out its precise area of distribution, I travelled northwards across Lake Kioga, with its great papyrus swamps, into Budeki, where lives a race of remarkably tall people ; then eastward to that enormous mole hill, Mount Elgon (14,200 ft.), whose slopes are covered with bananas, and thickly inhabited by dwarfish people, probably stunted in their growth by reason of their inclement surroundings, whose features remind me of the little wrinkled faced Ladakis who live amongst the snows of the Himalayas. I passed along the western and southern slopes of the mountain, beneath the caves, whose primitive inhabitants have recently excited so much interest and then on through Kavirondo again, without finding any Sleeping Sickness away from the Victoria Nyanza.

Later, during several months, I marched westward through Buddu into German East Africa, where I had the pleasure of meeting the German Military Medical Officer of Fort Bukoba, then on through Ankole, where, camped on some high hills, I one evening obtained a truly magnificent view, unobscured by



cloud, of the whole snow range of the "Mountains of the Moon" (20,000 ft.), at a distance of 120 miles north-west of where I stood. From the same spot at the same time looking south-west, could be seen a smoking volcano beyond Lake Kivu. From Mbarara, the capital of Ankole, I proceeded to the Albert Edward Nyanza, then along the foot of the great snow range to the capital of Toro, from whence I made a journey over the northern spur of the mountains into the Semliki valley and the Congo Free State.

Afterwards I travelled through the province of Unyoro, crossed the Victoria Nile just below the great foss, known as the Murchison Falls, marched along the Nile to Wadelai, then to Nimule, after delay and transport difficulties, and at last reached Gondokoro, the most northerly station in the Uganda Protectorate, and the scene of many thrilling incidents in the days of Baker, Speke and Emin Pasha. Through all this country, although I met with several interesting diseases, and learnt much of the natives, and their habits and conditions of life, I neither saw nor heard anything of Sleeping Sickness. From Gondokoro I travelled by Nile steamer, visiting the Belgian stations of Lado and Kero, and our military station of Mongala, then on for several days through the interminable winding channels of the sudd, that seemingly boundless expanse of papyrus, to Fashoda and Khartum, then by rail to Wady Halfa, by boat again to Assuan, and at last by train to Cairo.

But what is the cause of Sleeping Sickness? For some years it was believed to be due to a species of *Filaria sanguinis hominis* very common in the blood of natives in certain parts of West Africa, but apparently for no better reason than that this microscopic blood-worm was supposed to be found only in districts in which Sleeping Sickness occurred. This theory, however, was soon upset by the Commission sent out to Uganda, and for a time it seemed probable that the disease was caused by a bacillus found in the organs of a number of those who had died of Sleeping Sickness. Later, however, the bacteriologist to the Commission found, in the spinal fluid and the blood of many of the cases, a microscopic organism called a *trypanosoma*. This discovery was of the highest importance, for, although similar organisms had for long

been known in the blood of many of the lower animals, it was only quite recently—in West Africa in 1902—that it was discovered that this parasite was the cause of disease (trypanosoma fever) in human beings.

The trypanosoma—a short, thick, very active, minute, worm-like organism, with a finlike membrane running down one side of it, and terminating at one end in a long flagellum—gives rise to the disease of horses and mules and cattle, in many parts of the world, and well-known as Surra in India, and Nagana, or fly disease, in South Africa.

A second Commission to Uganda studied the life history of this parasite in connection with Sleeping Sickness, and it has now been shown that every case of the disease contains trypanosomes in the spinal fluid. On the other hand, it has been found that many natives, and at least one European, living within the Sleeping Sickness area on the Victoria Nyanza, harbour the parasite in their blood (trypanosoma fever) but not in the spinal fluid, and do not show symptoms of Sleeping Sickness, a condition of affairs suggesting that the trypanosoma of man may cause two distinct diseases, and that one may follow upon the other.

The mystery surrounding the cause of this terrible disease would therefore now appear to be nearly solved. "The question," says the progress report of the present Commission, now working at the subject in Uganda, "seems to resolve itself into this: either the trypanosomes found in Sleeping Sickness and those found in trypanosoma fever belong to different species, and give rise to different diseases, or they are one and the same, and if confined to the blood give rise to slight feverish symptoms, whereas if they gain entrance to the cerebro-spinal fluid they give rise to Sleeping Sickness. The question cannot be answered at present, but doubtless a solution will be found before long."

No European is as yet known to have contracted Sleeping Sickness, but it will be seen by the above discoveries that recent investigations have added very considerably to the gravity of a disease already looked upon as a serious one from the fact that it is always fatal. On the other hand several cases of trypanosoma fever in Europeans are now upon record, and if it should turn out that the trypanosoma of Sleeping Sickness is identical

with that of trypanosoma fever, the parasite being in the one case in the blood only, and in the other case in both blood and spinal fluid, there is indeed a very frail partition between the two diseases, and there seems no reason why Europeans might not become infected with Sleeping Sickness, once the parasite has gained an entrance to the blood stream.

It is to be hoped that a cure for the disease will be found. But if not the only hope of safety will lie in devising means for its prevention. Nagana, already mentioned, is known to be conveyed from animal to animal by the agency of the Tsetse fly. Now there are several species of Tsetse flies, and it is a very significant circumstance that the present Commission have discovered that a species of Tsetse, common in West Africa, in certain parts of which, as I have stated, Sleeping Sickness has been known to be endemic for more than a century, is also common within the Sleeping Sickness area on the Victoria Nyanza. It yet remains to be proved whether this fly is the agency by which the trypanosoma is carried from man to man. If this is eventually proved, as seems likely, prevention will necessarily be obliged to take much the same direction as it has taken in malaria, with regard to mosquitoes, but will be far more difficult of accomplishment, for instead of the Tsetse hatching out of redundant collections of water which can be dealt with, the single egg of this fly hatches, and the larva develops, within the body of the mother. The investigations of Col. Bruce have shown that the larva, having practically reached the pupa stage, is extruded on to the ground, where it creeps about actively till it finds a crevice, in which it at once changes into a hard, black, pupa, from which the mature Tsetse soon escapes. Even if this fly should be proved to be the conveyer of the trypanosoma of Sleeping Sickness, we are yet quite in the dark as to how it is conveyed from man to man. Very many points with regard to its life history are also quite unknown. We do not know for instance whether the parasite is simply carried on the mandibles of the fly, or whether it undergoes a cycle of development within the body of the insect, as does its not very distant relation the malaria parasite in the body of the mosquito. The solution of these problems must be left to the several investigators now engaged upon the work, on the Congo and in Uganda.

CUTHBERT CHRISTY.

September 20, 1903.

THE FRENCH VIEW OF THE NEGRO LABOUR QUESTION

IN briefly reviewing the official French view of the African labour problem I ought mainly to confine myself to that aspect of the question which concerns the recruitment of labourers under contract for work in countries far distant from their homes. With the ever-increasing demand for labour in South Africa and the improvement of communications all over the continent, Great Britain already finds herself constrained to go beyond the borders of her own possessions in Africa to recruit Negro workers from the territories of other Protecting Powers.

In view of the fact that France possesses a larger share of the African continent than any other Power, and can control the movements of some of the most vigorous and enterprising of the Negro races, it is as well to take note of the conditions under which the Governments of the French possessions will permit us to recruit labourers from them for temporary service in South Africa or in parts of British West Africa where gold mines or other natural resources demand for their development a larger labour force than can be furnished locally.

The whole of French North Africa may be left out of the question, since the conditions of labour in that part of the continent are very different from those which prevail further south when the Black Man's Country is reached. Algeria and Tunis have no surplus of native inhabitants to export for work elsewhere, but are obliged, on the contrary, to import labourers from the South of Europe to do the work which is not congenial to the proud-spirited and somewhat indolent Arab and Berber.

Senegal, as the oldest and best developed of the French West African possessions, has been the model from which the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and French Congo have framed their regulations for recruited labour, and on this subject the laws of

these various parts of French West Africa are almost identical. The following is a brief summary of them.

In all cases recruiting companies or their agents must obtain the sanction of the local Government to enlist natives, and this sanction is revocable at any time at the pleasure of the Government, either as a penalty for the infraction of regulations or simply if it is considered that the country cannot afford to part with any of its available labour force. (In this respect the Labour Regulations of French Congo specially favour other French possessions as against the rest of tropical Africa belonging to foreign Powers.) The recruiting agents must furnish a security in cash which varies according to circumstances, and must further pay a sum of from 50 to 100 francs (according to the colony in question) on the passport of each native whom they enlist for work in a foreign country. Natives are forbidden to embark on a sea-going vessel without a written permit from the authorities, and the captain of the ship is held responsible for their landing at the place named on the permit. These permits are examined on the return of the labourer to his own country. The Labour Regulations in French West Africa contain no special clauses laying down the wages, food, clothing, or hours of work of the recruited labourer, nor is any definite limit placed on the length of time to which the contract may run, though it is stipulated in general terms that the native's absence from his own country must be strictly temporary. The Governors of all these French West African Colonies in their despatches on the subject display some anxiety at the increased emigration of labourers from their dominions to neighbouring British possessions, and it is apparently more with a view to checking this emigration than to specially protecting the recruited Negro that these Labour Regulations are framed. M. Albert Decrais, the Governor of the Ivory Coast, in the autumn of 1901 expressed his concern at the growing emigration of the Krumen (who, as is well known, are among the best labourers of West Africa) to the mines of the Gold Coast. He complained that this is greatly to the detriment of the mining industry of the Ivory Coast itself, and of the railway which is being made there. No complaint is made as to the treatment of the men while working on British territory.

The conditions of the Madagascar labour market are not so favourable from our point of view as its proximity to the centre of demand in South Africa might lead us to suppose. So far from this great island being in a position to export labour, it is now commencing to import it from China. As far back as 1897, measures were taken to restrain the exodus of labourers from Madagascar. In order to obtain the necessary Government authorisation to enlist labourers for work abroad, recruiting agents must furnish a security of 40,000 francs (unless they are acting on behalf of another French Colony), which can only be recovered [six months after the termination of the recruiting company's operations. The other conditions and penalties are similar to those in force in West Africa, repetition of an offence against the Emigration Laws entailing a doubling of the original penalty.

After the French had subdued Madagascar in 1896-1897, they abolished slavery and serfdom, but substituted for them a system of forced labour in lieu of taxes. In January 1900 this system was modified, and a year later was suppressed altogether, and for it was substituted a higher rate of native taxation in money, with the same avowed end in view of persuading the people to take their fair share in the economic development of their country, in undertaking public works for the Government or in hiring themselves out to European settlers. General Gallieni, the Governor of Madagascar, in explaining the necessity for this gentle pressure, remarks that all the races of Madagascar, "idle and suspicious, and not in the least understanding the law of supply and demand," contented themselves with earning only the bare necessities of life. In December 1901 the General writes, "the natives enjoy absolute liberty to engage themselves for work according to their own tastes, but it seems to me necessary in view of their versatile spirit to take measures to compel them to fulfil faithfully the stipulations of contracts to which [they have agreed of their own free will." The measures referred to are the last of a series of Labour Regulations, which may be briefly summarised as follows.

Regular contract labour can only be entered into with the sanction of the Government, and it is part of the duties of each administrator of a province and of the local Labour Bureau (a

consultative council composed partly of representative colonists) to supervise and legalise the drawing up of agreements for labour between Europeans and natives. The latter must each be provided with a certificate setting forth the kind of work expected from them, the duration of the engagement, the number of working hours per day, week and month, and the rate and conditions of salary promised. With regard to the last two clauses, it may be mentioned that not less than 50 hours' work per three months may be agreed upon, and although there is no fixed legal minimum of salary the authorities must be satisfied that the pay offered is sufficient for the upkeep of the employé before they can sanction the agreement. As a matter of fact, the rate of pay for native labourers in Madagascar is rising steadily. A few years ago it might be as small as 20 or 30 centimes a day with rations; now besides rations it varies from half a franc to two francs a day, according to the locality and the nature of the work required. Except when due to illness, absence from work entails a proportionate loss of pay, but the employé may break his engagement if his salary for one month has not been paid over to him within the first week of the following month. Otherwise strikes are prohibited, and heavy penalties inflicted on those who incite them.

In May 1901 General Gallieni wrote, "Undoubtedly it is desirable that we should find with as little delay as possible, in the country itself, and amongst the native population all the labourers we require. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the economic development of Madagascar is checked far more by the sparseness of its population spread over so great a territory and by the difficulty of communications than by the apathy of the natives." This was a prelude to the introduction of 1,500 Chinese coolies. The Government of Madagascar itself took the initiative in this experiment in order to facilitate the construction of a railway from Antananarivo to the east coast of the island, but special regulations were framed permitting European colonists to take over the coolies on behalf of private enterprise. In return for this, private employers of labour who took over the coolies were to relieve the Government of part of the cost of their transport from and back to China, and bind themselves to pay each ordinary coolie not less than 25 francs a

month, plus food, clothing, lodging, beds and medical attendance. This batch of coolies were entitled to repatriation after three years. The regulations drawn up on their behalf were made applicable to future importations of labourers from the East. Careful provision was made as to their sleeping accommodation and everything to do with their health.

General Gallieni hopes that the importation of foreign labourers will engender a spirit of emulation among the somewhat indolent Negro-Malayan inhabitants of Madagascar, and instances Ceylon and the Straits Settlements as countries owing much of their present prosperity to coolie labour. At the same time he hopes that when its internal means of communication have been improved, Madagascar may become self-supporting in this respect, as the natives find work more and more a necessity to satisfy their increasing wants, and are better trained as regards skilled labour.

A perusal of these official reports leaves one with the impression that none of the French Colonial Governments are anxious to see their people leave home to earn money elsewhere in foreign lands. Nearly all these colonies have railways or other urgent public works under construction, and are as unwilling as we are in South Africa to import Asiatic labour. No Power treats its Negro subjects better than does France, yet her administrators insist repeatedly on the obligation of the Negro to do a reasonable amount of work towards the development of his country above and beyond the little that is required to satisfy his simple needs.

ALEX JOHNSTON.

SLAVERY IN WESTERN AFRICA

BY A WEST AFRICAN

STATUS, which in other words is the "persona," may be defined as the law of relations of inequality. In every political society under every constitutional government, whether in public or in private law, there must exist superiors and inferiors, on the one hand functionaries reposing in various corporations exercising authority, and on the other subjects subordinate to those sovereign powers practising obedience. The rights or the duties which those characters are capable of are what constitute the essential nature of status, and this is so whether they are natural or juristic.

According to the Early Roman Law, status fell under three heads:—liberty, citizenship, and domestic position: under the first head members of society were divided into the freeman, the freedman and the slave; under the second, into the citizen, the Latin and the alien; and under the third, into the head of the House, the member of the House and the bondsman.

On a study of the title "de statu hominum" as it appears in the Digest, it can be seen that in the eye of the Law the status of slaves was looked on as a ratio of existence rather than as a function accruing to that status. And even though it is said of them "*Servorum nulla est differentia*," yet it is a saying only legally true, for status in the light of function being merely a "persona"—a character—more useful for public purposes than for its legal effect on the real circumstance of a man, was in a sense fully enjoyed by slaves and was the basis of all distinction between grade and grade. Notwithstanding this "persona" however, under which the slave was recognised ever since the days of Gaius, nor the overwhelming testimony of primitive law that the representation and the government of the family sometimes devolved on him, yet some American writers have

bestowed much time and energy on the question whether in the early days of society he had a status.

It is true that one of the characteristics of a person is that he should be recognised by the State as such, so that if a slave is at the absolute disposal of his master he could not be said to have a status ; but it should not be forgotten that slavery among different races is susceptible of many modifications, *e.g.* the slave of the Jewish Law differed in many respects from the Roman slavery, the condition of the Russian serf marks a favourable contrast to that of the West Indian negro. In considering the question therefore, I think it necessary to recognise the distinction between domestic servitude, which is the rule of a subject or subjects over others generally of the same race and colour, *e.g.* in the lowlands of Germany or under the villein system, and that harsh and cruel slavery, which is the rule of a sovereign over a subject people embittered generally by prejudice of race and colour, *e.g.* slavery of the negroes in America until the Civil War of 1860. The former kind exists in Western Africa and is practically the only sort of slavery known ; it arises in an extreme instance when subjects have disturbed the order of the community by rising against the authority of their rulers and thereby necessitating a suppression by force of arms—erroneously known as slave-raiding.

This could be borne out from the fact that the majority of these slaves are obtained not from foreign sources, but from villages and towns the inhabitants of which are of the same race and tribe as their captors, and as such it could hardly be expected that with few exceptions unless in the furtherance of justice, they would attack and raid those who are governed by the same rules and live under similar conditions of life as themselves.

Mr. C. H. Robinson in an account of his travels in West Africa tells us, that he frequently saw parties of Muhammadans with gangs of newly captured slaves, and that on one occasion in the market place in Kano as many as a thousand slaves were brought down as the result of a raiding expedition ; but it does not appear that it struck him to inquire for what reason this was done.

In my humble opinion if he had done so I think he would have found it to be the punishment for some insurrectionary

rising against the Sultan of Sokoto, or for resistance to the mandates of some Emir.

These military operations correspond with the punitive expedition of the European States, and the public sale is the equivalent of transportation, superseded by penal servitude in English Law.

The latter kind is generally known as slave-raiding, except in certain parts where a sovereignty exists, and the capture of prisoners is sanctioned by the State: as where tribute in slaves is taken annually from conquered states by the Sultan of Sokoto or the Asantifu on the Gold Coast, or as among the Dahomeans who in making surprise attacks generally slaughtered all who defended themselves, but those who surrendered were taken prisoners, and either cast into a dungeon or sold.

Slave-raiding, a relic of the slave-trade days, which is the incursion of an armed band into a peaceful village without provocation or declaration of war, or the sudden seizure of unsuspecting travellers by gangs of marauding robbers, hardly carries with it the prejudices of slavery proper, for it entails the capture of men, women, and children with a view to the disposal of the majority of them by contract, such as is done by the Ijos of Ijoland or the Hausas of the Upper Niger; the minority are used as concubines, wives, harem attendants, trading boys, carriers, mercenary soldiers, &c., and if taken on a perpetuity, they share the same privileges as those sold, *i.e.* they soon become the advisers of their Chiefs and occasionally in time assume themselves the patriarchal character; they incur contractual obligations, conclude juristic acts and unlike domestic slaves in general¹ obtain a capacity of acquiring private property alienable at will.

So it could be seen that slaves of the latter class are practically of a domestic nature; they are not absolutely at the disposal of their masters, and even though a limited one—they could be said to have a status.

Besides the captured slaves I have already mentioned domestic servitude further arises when a subject violates the customary law of the society, in which case he is reduced to slavery either on account of crime, as in the Igbo country for attempted

¹ *i.e.* of the Aryan order.

abortion or for the theft of sheep, in Soboland for the crime of adultery, among the Soninkes for robbery.

Governor Clarkson in his Diary, referring to the early inhabitants of Sierra Leone, writes :—" If a person is accused of crime besides the trial of drinking the Red-water they have another equally just. An iron steeped in the juice of certain herbs is made red hot and passed quickly over the hands of the person suspected. If the iron burns he is pronounced guilty *and sold for a slave.*" Or this is done on religious grounds as on the Niger Delta children who cut their upper teeth first are handed to the Nohi, a priestly caste, and sold, or at Kukuruku every child born of its mother after the sixth or among the Igbos every tenth child born of the same mother is to be sold.

Another class of domestic slaves is the hereditary slave, generally known as the half-free or home-born slave. It consists of slaves born in the house, called by the Efiks "Eyinofin," by the Susus and Timanes "Wolisos," by the Yorubas "Eru-Idile." It is the general rule that certain privileges should be accorded to them over those known as the bought slave ; they could pledge property which the bought slave could not do ; their contractual relations could extend liability to the master, but the debt of the bought slave is generally his ; only uninterrupted transmission through a line of slave ancestors to the third, fourth or seventh generation is conclusive proof of freedom, but a bought slave is perpetually a slave.

The custom holds that these slaves should be attached to the House, and unless in cases of distress or open necessity they should not be sold from it. It might even be correct to say that they are rooted to the soil as the "native" of feudal days except that even with the master's permission they could not sever themselves from it as slaves.

There is also the class known as the voluntary slave which consists of freemen who transfer themselves from one House or tribe to another and incur the loss only of a particular juristic personality ; such as freemen of Oron or Ibibio who submit themselves to the Efik people as slaves, "chop mbiam," (the native oath in the presence of witnesses,) and receive certain offerings symbolic of good faith ; or certain of the ancient inhabitants of Sierra Leone, who in order to escape the cruel

treatment of the Timanes, surrendered themselves to voluntary slavery; or the slaves that are known in Hausaland as "Bara," *i.e.* a freeman who for the purpose of evading a case of distress or a fine of a public nature voluntarily submits himself to perpetual slavery, on accepting a sword and a gown from another. Or such as exists on the Gold Coast when a freeman in financial difficulties surrenders himself and his property to another by way of pawn. In some parts as in the Efik and Bavili districts this slavery extends to the issue,¹ though not to collaterals; on the Lower Niger and Yoruba-land, however, the rule is that the freeman alone is bound.

The privileges accorded to the voluntary over the bought slave are, that the one could redeem himself from his own earnings by paying every expense his master incurred on his behalf, while the other could only be redeemed from the earnings of strangers by their paying double the value of his purchase money. In Yoruba-land, however, this distinction does not obtain and, besides, the voluntary slave could travel without hindrances, could contract business of his own, could marry or build a compound without the necessary consent of his master.

At Old Calabar it has been held that though a written instrument voluntarily submitted would bind a bought or home-born slave yet in the case of a freeborn such would be of none effect. *Walker v. Umo Edem*. If a freeman of the land submits himself to another from distress he becomes a dependent member of the House, and on indemnifying his benefactor of all expenses incurred on his behalf, he recovers his original status.

These, briefly speaking, are the kinds of slavery existing in West Africa, and before entering into the inquiry as to their lawfulness I think it necessary to make some general preliminary observations.

Much fallacy has arisen from discoursing on slavery without due attention to the different circumstances with which it is attended; writers seem to have confused domestic servitude, which is the basis of the relation of master and servant, with

¹ At Old Calabar if the wife is free the issue cannot be compelled to serve unless they wish to inherit the father's fortune.

that ignominious traffic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the one is an institution ancient and almost universal, it dates back from the early history of mankind. Augustine the Ecclesiastic writes of it:—"Nunquam scripturarum legimus servum antequam hoc vocabulo ne justus peccatum filii vindicaret."

In the Jewish Law we meet with some regulations illustrating it—*vide* Lev. xxv. 39-46. Theopompus suggested that the Lacedæmonians and Thessalians introduced it into Greece: and Pliny in his History of Inventors says "Servitium invenere Lacedæmonii."

Among the Romans it is defined as "Constitutio juris gentium qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subjicitur" and it was early established among the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Babylonians and Persians. About the eleventh or twelfth century however, when ecclesiastical legislation was at its height, the gradual extinction of domestic slavery commenced. It is said that this was due to the softening influences of Christianity which on the whole did not stamp the fact with injustice, for St. Paul himself after having converted the fugitive slave Onesimus sent him back to his master with these words—"I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds: which in times past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me" (Phil.), and in I. Timothy vi. 1, it is written—"Let as many slaves as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed," at the same time that it is added, "And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit."

It was further due to the fact that at that time when many little Republics were formed in Italy, it was impossible for proprietors of slaves to secure efficient control over them as before when the administration of government was more effective, and the states less independent: in consequence fugitives had merely to escape to the adjoining sovereign states when they would be sure to find protection. Besides this the Romans except after the defeat at Cannæ

employed only freemen to serve in the army, and at the juncture when every state employed all the hands they could muster for the defence of their rights, and the idea held that only freemen could be trusted the natural consequence as Seneca describes it to have been was "*Totidem hostes quot servos.*" But this was not all, in other parts of Europe and even in Italy herself under different names it lingered for many years to come—hence the "*nativi*"—*aldiones*, *coloni*, &c. The Lombards and Franks who overspread Europe had their dependents whom they could transfer though not out of the King's dominions, they had a property in their person but not the power of life and death—these dependents were known as the villeins generally regardant to the Ulanor, sometimes used as valuable appendages, at other times as incumbrances. The Ecclesiastical bodies also were no less energetic; they owned their *coloni*, *i.e.* villeins who worked upon the soil, and besides these—vassals who increased the retinue of the convent, indeed they were similar in this respect to what Strabo relates of the Temple of Venus which owned over a thousand slaves consecrated to the deity by many worshippers.

About the year A.D. 600 dates the Teutonic conquest of Great Britain and of this Dr. Stubbs writes:—"the English invaders came in families and kindred into Britain and in the full organisation of their tribes, even the slaves were not left behind." In Domesday book are registered some 25,000 *servi*, and it is generally admitted that hundreds of common words which have been retained from the original Keltic in the English language have been transmitted most probably by female slaves who were captured from the Britons in those times. The condition of the villein after the Norman Conquest is not unknown; he was rooted to the soil, he knew not to-day what he would do to-morrow, he had no protection against his lord nor was it possible of his own effort to shake himself free from his bondage. He could not acquire property except for his master's benefit, he was himself saleable and transmissible and the condition of slavery extended to his issue, except where the mother was a free tenant.

In the sixteenth century, however, when the idea of utilising the African native for the purpose of developing other parts of

the world was put into practice, from that time dates the introduction of the other species of slavery. It is doubtful to what nation this may be attributed, but history records the fact that this inglorious traffic took its rise from the Portuguese who in their efforts to supply new labour to the Spanish Colonies from their intercourse in Morocco with black slave labour inaugurated a trade between America and Africa for the sale of negro-slaves.

This commerce is said to have begun in 1503 when the first importation was made into Hispaniola for the relief of native Indians. In 1511 Ferdinand V. of Spain permitted great numbers to be carried on the representation of the threatened extinction of Indians on the several Spanish Islands and on the plea that the work of one negro was more than equal to that of four Indians. Charles V. of Spain permitted a further importation. In 1517 the Emperor Charles granted a monopoly to his Flemish favourites of an annual exportation of 4,000 negroes to work in the mines in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Hispaniola.

In 1540, however, he made an unsuccessful attempt to stop its progress by an order that all slaves in American Islands should be manumitted, but this was carried out only for a time while Lagasca, the Governor of the country, resided there. Another inducement now arose in the discovery of the island of Margarita where extensive pearl fisheries were in working: patents were granted by this same Emperor for the importation of negroes to work as divers in search of pearls.

It was not long after that England and the other nations of Europe followed the example of Spain and Portugal. In 1562 we read that Captain John Hawkins took a cargo of slaves to the West Indies, and on receiving the honour of Knighthood adopted as his crest "a demi Moor in his proper colour bound with a cord." From this time the negro became a very considerable article in the commerce between Africa and America. In 1618 King James I. granted a patent to the "Company of merchants in London adventuring in the Golden Trade," of which George Thompson was the manager. He established a trading station as far up as Tenda on the River Gambia. Another company was formed in course of time by Jobson and Stibbs which shipped a considerable number of slaves to the

plantations in the New World. In 1662 the Chartered Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading in Africa was formed and they undertook the annual supply of 3,000 slaves to the British Colonies in the West Indies. In 1672 their resources having failed they surrendered their Charter and were succeeded by the Royal African Company of England—which built forts at Accra, Dixcove, Winnebah, Sekondi, and Anamaboe, indeed on the whole they did much to raise British interests in the traffic of negro slaves.

By the end of the seventeenth century the traffic in slaves had become one of the most important industries in British trade, and it is computed that between 1680 and 1700 no fewer than 300,000 slaves were shipped from England alone.

This state of things continued in England without impeachment till 1772: in that year the famous judgment of Lord Mansfield in Somerset's case was delivered—"that the state of slavery being so odious nothing could be suffered to support it but positive law; from this decision," said the learned judge, "I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England and therefore the black must be discharged."

The first movement for the abolition of the Slave Trade began with a petition from the Quakers in 1782, in 1787 the settlement of Sierra Leone was formed as a place of refuge for liberated slaves. The idea of this was first suggested by Dr. Smeathman who had been resident for many years in the Plantain Islands in Sierra Leone: he was supported in this enterprise by Sharpe, Wilberforce, and other English philanthropists on the condition that the settlers "be prohibited from holding any kind of property in the persons of men as slaves and from selling either man, woman or child." In 1788, Sir William Dolben introduced a bill for the limiting of the number of slaves carried in British ships. In 1792 the King of Denmark proclaimed the illegality of slave dealing to take effect in 1802; in 1804 the United States forbade the importation of slaves into North America. In 1805 the English Law prohibited new colonies from partaking in the slave-trade; in 1806 the first Act prohibiting the importation of slaves by British subjects into a foreign country was passed, and it was not till 1807 that "the unceasing efforts of Charles James Fox were

crowned with the well merited success which he himself did not live to see, and the trade in negroes was absolutely forbidden to subjects of the British Crown." In 1811 slave-trading was made felony by the statute law of England, and though in 1823 America suggested that it should be declared piracy *jure gentium* yet it was never carried into effect, and in the case of *Le Louis*, Lord Stowell distinctly laid down *inter alia* that "trading in slaves was not a crime by the law of nations." There was still a great demand for slaves in the western world, and from 1807 to 1846 the average annual number of slaves imported was 77,000. In 1813 Sweden prohibited slave-dealing, she was followed by Holland in 1814, by France in 1818, and it is significant that Portugal which was the first to engage in this nefarious traffic was also the last to abandon it. During these troublesome times slaves were drafted from almost every town on the sea-board of the coast and, as a result of this, the descent of the Sierra Leonean is traceable to the Hausa, Nupe, Igbo, Ijo, Yoruba, Efik, Wolof, Okrikan, Susu, Mandingo, Bubi, Coromanti and almost every conceivable important tribe existing in the southern regions of the Sahara.

Though the laws were passed forbidding slave traffic, yet it was clandestinely carried on in most places, and eventually the necessity for a certain number of cruisers to assist in its suppression was keenly felt. Great Britain entered into treaty engagements with other Powers for mutual "Rights of search," the last two of which to concede these rights were France and the United States. During these times many slavers were captured and taken to Sierra Leone where the cargoes of slaves were set free, but it appears the lot of the captured slaves rather increased in severity than otherwise, for traders who risked the chances of a capture paid a higher price for their merchandise; the slaves were more overcrowded in the slavers than before, and in case of chase were generally thrown overboard. Philanthropists devoted all their time to suggesting means for the complete stamping out of this trade but to little avail. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton in dealing with the remedies of the slave-trade proposed the discouragement of the traffic, legitimate commerce, development of agriculture, moral and religious instruction, to accomplish which he recommended an increase of

the squadron, treaties with the Chiefs of the Coast, building of factories, starting of agricultural Companies and support of the Association on foot, but this also proved of little good. In 1834 a compensation of £20,000,000 was voted for the slave-owners of the West Indian islands, and the slaves manumitted on the condition that children under six years of age and those born after the Act which was then passed were to be free, registered slaves above six years of age to become apprenticed labourers to enjoy all the rights of freedom and be paid weekly wages.

Slavery was abolished in the French Colonies in 1845, in Puerto Rico 1873, and in Cuba 1886.

This put an end to the West African slave-trade, inglorious in its origin, nefarious in its course, deleterious in its effect, a bondage very different from the happy domestic servitude the African natives knew—it fell never to revive!

Other writers have denounced West African slavery as the evidence of an inhuman barbarism, something that Mr. Sarbah would say conjures up horrible atrocities—kidnapping, murder, bloodshed, fire, plague, pestilence, and all the host of abominations following in their train; but as Dr. Blyden in his article on Native African Customs says, “this denunciation often proceeds from those who forget their own past history, and at a period when they were much more advanced in what is called civilisation than the African,” and I would add “who are ignorant of the ethics of African slavery and sometimes would associate it with all that debases and demoralises mankind.”

The Roman definition though it deals more with the law of slavery than with slavery itself would seem to correspond with the servitude of West Africa, inasmuch as it is “*constitutio qua quis dominio alieno subjicitur*”; with reference to the force of the expression “*contra naturam*” it was never intended that classes of persons should be placed on the condition of equality except to remind the practitioners that the exercise of the power of life and death which the master had over his slave, of the right to direct all the actions of another, as Dr. Rutherford would say, is immoral and unnatural if arbitrarily made use of, and whatever class of person that may be, justice should be meted out to him. This would apply to West Africa, for though the master has a right over his slave yet to this right there is a limit, and should

he exceed it to even the smallest extent the Native Council could grant redress : *e.g.* on the Lower Niger, should it be proved that a freeborn committed adultery with his slave's wife, a fixed penalty is imposed by way of redress and this when paid is given to the slave for the wrong done to him. In Efik lands, should the sister of a slave wife married to a freeborn who has had issue be treated as a slave, she could assert her rights and claim on privilege the quasi-freedom she deserves. But *Jus Gentium* being a sort of external operation on *Jus Naturale*, though it is "*contra naturam*" for one to be wholly subject to another, by which I mean for one to use the power of life and death on another, yet on the principle of "*volenti fit non injuria*" when prisoners are taken in war and sold (as the Romans were wont to do) this is not "*contra naturam*," hence Cicero in his "*De Officiis*" tells us "*non contra naturam est spoliare eum quem licitum est necare.*" So we conclude that among the Romans where tribes voluntarily stake their liberty upon the issue of war or where a man voluntarily surrenders himself to the will and control of another, slave-holding is not inconsistent with *Jus Naturale*, indeed in the language of the Epistle to the Galatians there is then neither bond nor free. This would also apply to slave-holding in West Africa, but on the other hand, except in cases where some are reserved for sacrificial purposes as among the Dahomeans, prisoners taken in war have even more rights than those under the Roman Law, for by a sort of tacit agreement between them and their conquerors they are looked on as members of the family to which they are taken ; all past hostilities are at once forgiven and their rights are recognised by the tribunals of the community. Not only to them does this apply but also to the penal slave of whom we have a likely equivalent in the "*servus poenae*" and the hereditary slave, the pet privilege of the negro house. The definition of slavery given by Grotius as being an obligation for one to serve another for life in consideration for necessities supplied would apply to West African slavery if such a thing as redemption were not recognised in negro law, and the acquisition of private property by the slave with the right he has of relinquishing labour for his master after stated times.

Miss Kingsley, who did her best to understand the negro

and whose death all thinking Africans must lament, referred to West African slavery as a quasi-feudal system. Feudalism, though it did not debase or demoralise mankind was an organisation for the primary need of protection, based upon the tenure of land, and as the capacity for individual contract became enlarged, it gradually died away. West African slavery on the other hand, with the exception of the voluntary slave, is not a predial servitude based on the need of protection, but is an institution for the development of trade, the advancement of agriculture, and the ultimate promotion of peace: it is in short an acquisition to be encouraged, and as she herself says:—"For divers reasons essential to the well-being of Africa—at any rate for those vast regions of it which are agricultural."

It is to the Jewish law that we should look for the counterpart of West African servitude, for there the voluntary, the penal and the hereditary slave were well known, who could not be sold as bondmen, Lev. xxv. 42, and could obtain redemption, Deut. xv. 14, could acquire private property and had monopoly of time; there also was the bought slave, but if taken as a result of capture it is not clearly known. Though the half-free was not known, yet slave-raiding was forbidden on pain of death, and this, but for the slave-trade influence with its chaotic revolting curse, would never have been known in the regions of Western Africa. The condition of the issue of persons of unequal status presents at first a chaotic aspect, but on careful investigation I think it could be seen that one of the principles which dominate various classes of African communities is that issue follows freedom to a remarkable extent. There are many qualifications that might arise touching on this canon, and as I prefer that my readers should test the underlying principles I have enunciated I shall enlarge on it to some extent, making what comments I consider desirable for further elucidation.

It is firstly necessary to mention that in some parts there can be no lawful wedlock between a freeborn and a slave as among the Asaba and Onicha people of the Igbo tribe, the Hausas of Hausaland, or the Sereres of the Gambia River. In other parts should a freeborn beget issue of a slave of his house, taken in lawful wedlock, the almost invariable rule is that the issue will be free. The mother acquires freedom by virtue of the marriage

as among the Yorubas, or conditionally on having issue as among the Efiks. In either case when acquired it extends to collaterals of the first degree, either absolutely or qualified. Among the Fantis, however, it would seem that the mother and the issue would be slaves, and not until certain ceremonies, as Bosman tells us, are made that freedom would be given. "If a negro has a child by his slave, whether married to him or not, his heir will look after it and keep it only as a slave, on which account those who love their slaves will take care to make their children free with the usual ceremonies before they die, after which they are in every particular treated as free persons." Lett. xii.

In cases of promiscuous intercourse the law seems to vary to some extent, but the general rule admits of freedom. At Abo, for instance, some fetish ceremony is necessary, known as Gomoine, at New Calabar the admission of the father is necessary. Among the Yorubas the issue is a slave, but as in all other cases redemption is permissible.

If a freewoman begets issue of a slave of her house, whether given in marriage or not, the issue will be free. In case of marriage this happens generally to a deserving slave, whom it is necessary to keep in the House as the head slave or a wealthy slave: among the Yorubas the slave acquires freedom by virtue of the marriage, the consent of the Head is unnecessary, in the case of a voluntary slave among the Jekris the Head of the House does not ordain the alliance, but rather countenances it.

When a freeman begets issue of a slave of another House in lawful wedlock the issue will be free, and will belong to his father's House; at Old Calabar provided betrothal money has been paid, in Yorubaland if the owner of the slave had given consent to the marriage. Among the Jekris this issue is unrecognised. Where issue is begotten not in lawful wedlock, he is a slave unless redeemed by the father or his House.

Should a slave beget issue of a freewoman of another House whether in lawful wedlock or not the issue would follow the status of the mother, but in case of marriage among the Efiks should he inherit his father's property he becomes a slave of his father's House. Consent of party Houses destroys all disadvantages of inheritance likely to accrue in Yorubaland. Among

the Jekris unless in the case of wealthy slaves such alliances are hardly known. Should a Yoruba princess beget issue of one who is virtually her voluntary slave, the issue is free, but is not recognised as of princely line.

The general canon with reference to the status of the offspring of slaves is that issue follows the mother, but should a half-free beget issue of a bought slave in lawful wedlock the issue will be half-free, or in Yorubaland the issue of a voluntary slave with any other slave of the same House in lawful wedlock will be free. Among the Asabas should the marriage of slaves of different Houses depend on a substantial consideration—the issue will follow the father—but the small consideration of one hundred and eighty cowries is the rule.

Another instance of the general rule that issue follows freedom is that to which I have already referred under the heading of the status of hereditary slaves. The condition of the half-free or home-born slave forms one of the most important features of domestic slavery existing in West Africa, it marks the transition in the House from common slavery to freedom by right of lineage, and is the basis of all unity and concentration in the organisation of the House. It is forbidden by native law that this class of slave should be sold from the House, unless in cases of great distress, as for instance, among the Yorubas should the Head of a House be proved to have divulged the secrets of the cabalistic society, his houses are razed, and all his people sold, or as among the Efiks, should the assets of a deceased head not meet his liabilities, and his half-free slaves be unable to satisfy his creditors at the demand of Egbo—that is, the native secret society—each valued at double the amount of a bought slave becomes himself a slave.

It is a general custom that bought slaves when once they have had issue in the House, *i.e.* the parents of half-free slaves unless they are guilty of crime of a grievous nature, *eg.* in some places adultery with the master's wife, or robbery involving him in trouble, should not be sold. At Abo, Indoni, Oguta, and certain parts of the Igbo country, when once a slave is named he could not be sold without the consent and approval of the House including the other slaves; should this be done, the owner's house is to be razed. At Abo the punishment for adultery with the master's wife is in the nature of a penalty to be satisfied from

the private property of the slave, on failure of payment of which the delinquent will be sold.

Half-free slaves who could trace their descent to the third line or more of ancestors born in the House are free. One circumstance which it is important to note in connexion with the progressive status of the half-free is that it is a method of admitting men of alien descent into the sanctum of the House, and though it is itself an artificial process by means of which slaves become converted into freeborn, yet this is done not by a strained fiction as that of adoption practised by the Romans, but by the natural flow of interest which must manifest itself for ages in good faith from parent and from child.

The adoption of the Romans was a wilful falsehood used as an expedient to overcome the rigidity of the law, too violent I should imagine to meet any other purpose than a peaceable succession for the continuation of the House. This conjecture is supported on the authority of the Institutes with the fact that the majority of Roman adoptions are traced from cognatic kinsmen, that is, of relatives arising through common descent whether male or female. And further it will be remembered that after a time when the era of Aristocracy arrived, the Roman states ceased to recruit themselves by artificial extensions of family, and never were there any of those subversions of feeling which we term emphatically—revolutions—so startling and so complete as the change which was accomplished when some other principle such as that, for instance, of local contiguity established itself for the first time as the basis of common political action.

That it was not generally in favour with the early Hindu legislators is deducible from the remarks of Mr. Wayne, for he says, "one might read through the texts from the Sutra writers to Dhaga Bhaga without discovering that adoption is a matter of any prominence in the Hindu system."

Among the African peoples also notwithstanding that Mr. Sarbah says it is practised by those Fantis who have no next of kin to succeed to their property—this fictitious application, slow and gradual, is of more prominence than adoption, for its members are held together not only by common obedience to the Head, but also by the authority of prescription which is

itself a right. It is difficult to imagine an African House on the verge of extinction to such an extent that it would be necessary to revive it by adoption. For apart from the system which I have mentioned, it is well known that on failure to have issue, or in case of permanent disease such as leprosy, the custom holds of recourse to fictitious paternity by the husband on issue by the wife—as with the Igbos or Mendis. Among the Asaba people also, the issue of the wife belongs to the husband irrespective of fact or illegitimate right; this no doubt is adoption, but not an adoption all essential to the maintenance of the House either in property or in name. Adopted children among the Efiks acquire no rights of succession to the property of their adoptive father, among the Asabas what is called adoption corresponds with naturalisation—the Yorubas have a particular mode of nominating an heir rather than of adopting one, and it would seem from what Mr. Sarbah says, that Fanti females are adopted not as children but as sisters, and though the existence of issue for the purpose of succession is with them to some extent immaterial, yet it is strange that a successor should not be nominated, or a nephew or niece adopted in preference to a sister who could claim but a secondary title to the property of the deceased.

Here it is further necessary to note a contrast between the right of prescription which the feudal lord had to allege in support of his claim to a villein, and the right which the half-free has to allege in support of his claim to freedom. In Teutonic villanages, uninterrupted possession of a line of slave ancestors somewhat cements the status of the slave, hence it is no wonder that the Law winked at the many indirect ways by which the villein could gain his freedom—so numerous that the system declined in England and eventually died away: in West African slavery, on the other hand, it acts in each case as a disintegrating element in the dissolution process of slave status, at the same time that, generally speaking, it props up the entire substantial fabric of a splendid servitude, and herein lies the important difference in the constitution of the two.

If this system of affiliation had not existed in Western Africa I hardly see how the organisation of the House could prove so satisfactory that the good effect of slavery could be manifest

even to the uninitiated mind: it is true that there are other advantages accruing to the slave, but to this above all I consider the concentration of the House most indebted—it is this that embraces the widest influence for deserving slaves—that affords the safest assurance of their *bona fides* to the Head. It is something even more than a legal fiction—it is natural: it is becoming that the stranger slave whose interest through generations of ancestors has been blended with his master's, whose good faith has been tried through calm and stormy weather, whose thoughts, language and whose law are native to the House should cease to be a slave and should become a child, not in the Galatian or Roman sense however, but as a free member of the House.

That status inclines to freedom—investigation into the condition of the slave with reference to his private property will show.

Slaves are for the most part used as farmers, canoe-boys or traders, the female slaves as wives, attendants, and, in places where concubinage is recognised—as concubines. It is customary to supply each of them with a small capital for trade and this is known as the private property of the slave.

The advantage of this is that it nurtures in the slave the desire for speculation which when carried out on a profitable scale proves beneficial both for the master and the slave:—for the slave, as the property is his and whatever is derived so much is the advantage to him—for the master as at the slave's death his vested interest is increased in proportion with the assets derived. But that all his time may not be monopolised on this only, the working days of the slave in different places are divided, *e.g.* at Asaba there are four days in the week, two are apportioned to the master's business, two to the slave's; at Old Calabar the master has four days, the slave three; at Abo, the master four, the slave one; on the Gold Coast the master three, the slave two, and in these spare days the slave is entitled to do his private work whether in the nature of trade or farming or anything else he has an aptitude for.

After a certain number of years or on certain conditions being fulfilled he becomes released from all service for his master save

when occasionally he makes tribute by way of respect, *e.g.* at Asaba after paying seven measures, at Abo after five years, but should he succeed in building a compound or in purchasing a slave within that time the privilege is accorded to him sooner as a reward for his marked diligence. Among certain people as the Efiks there is no time fixed, but when a slave attains an elevated status in the community he is privileged, *e.g.* when he becomes a Chief—as at Opobo, Bonny and Old Calabar ; in this case he is known as “the Chief of a certain House” and respect need be paid to him only by the members of that House, or where he represents the Head of a House when the heirs are mere infants or are incapable of controlling its affairs ; but these do not entitle him to all privileges of the community, *e.g.* he could not partake of certain dance ceremonies as the Egbo of Old Calabar or the Aregada of Onicha or as among the Susus in consideration of being born half-free. A slave on travelling on his own accord or on engaging himself as an apprentice becomes privileged, or in Yorubaland on paying a ransom and marrying a freeborn after a reasonable lapse of years : all that is required of them being the occasional tribute.

The advantage of this system is untold, for the new bought slave whose indifference might have led to plunder, waste and bad economy becomes filled with hope in the interest of his master : he knows the privilege attendant on his good results of trade and uses his best endeavours to secure that end ; he invents new means and advances every inducement to obtain his immediate reward, and though he should fail in his ambitious enterprise yet as a condition of things he could not despair for he knows his reward is always there, and in certain places as I have above mentioned a time is fixed when this privilege must come.

He could own property of almost any kind except what is confined to the higher classes, *e.g.* among the Abos he could not use umbrellas or “Awododo,” *i.e.*, red flannel—or among the Onichas, ivory. His rights of alienation, however, were in general restrictive, *e.g.*, he could exercise only a parental authority of domestic work over his issue, and in certain places the rights of redemption of his slave were subject to the will

of his Head. He could alienate not more than one-half of his property, and in most places was forbidden to pledge his issue or his slaves. On failure of issue his master could succeed to his property after death, but where there was issue or he passed from owner to successor, it would seem that in most cases the share of the master was a moiety. The master could claim on his rights of contract, but in the lifetime of the slave the accruing liabilities were the slave's. At one time on the Lower Niger the master burdened himself with the slave's liabilities, but so harmful was the effect on master and on slave that by general consent this was abolished, and the practice as I have stated it was made the rule. So it could be seen that these ideas were founded on the principle of preventive justice that the slave could not be permitted to make fraudulent disposition of his property to the prejudice of his master's rights. In case of damage done to any person by the slave the responsibility to make it good lay on the master either by making surrender of the slave or reparation in damages. On the authority of Puffendorf this would seem to be in accordance with Natural Equity, for otherwise a slave might insult the whole world with impunity. The master was held responsible on the principle that he was presumed to authorise the act as the slave acting under his implied authority would adopt means calculated to save his master's interest, such as were likely the master would adopt under similar circumstances were he present at the time—in other words the act of the slave was deemed to be the master's act; his mental faculties were supposed to operate for his master's good as in the Roman sense where the master had a power over the body and the will—a "*dominica potestas*." Such an illustration of the effect of this sort of constructive authority in English history will be remembered in the case of Thomas à Becket, who was murdered not indeed by the orders of King Henry II., but on the criminal apostrophe of that sovereign. In the case of serious crime, however, the slave would directly have to bear the burden of his act, but should the mischief arise in the course of his master's service, this would raise a presumption of guilt, and the burden of proof would lie on the master to show that he had no criminal intent. This could be proved on his making surrender of the slave to be

punished in proportion to the crime or on the confession of the slave that his actions were not in his master's interest, and he received no instructions authorising such act either actual or constructive. The surrender of the Roman slave applied to cases of theft, malicious injury to property, rape and outrage, and was the heaviest penalty punishable as satisfaction to the person aggrieved ; in Western Africa on the other hand some of these crimes, *e.g.* rape among the Soninkes on the Gambia River, were punished with the severe penalty of death, and as among the Romans the natural death of the slave would extinguish his master's liability ; it is difficult to say that on the Coast such would be the case. As between the master and the slave, the slave should make indemnity, and on failure to do this it is possible the slave would then be sold, but in case of severe crimes, *e.g.* among the Igbos adultery with the master's wife—the punishment was death : in course of time, however, this was modified, and in almost every place at the present day fixed penalties are generally imposed. Among some branches of the Igbo tribe the consultative voice of the House must be heard when anything more serious is to be done after the slave is named, for on failure to do this the master's house is to be razed by the concurrent act of the whole House.

Another incident in the Law of Slavery is the condition of the pawn which arises when a person in difficult circumstances surrenders his slave or issue to another as a security for some consideration to be obtained. This refers to a pawn by one member to another of the same community, all foreigners being looked upon as barbarians, *i.e.* slaves. In most places it is unusual for the freeborn to be made the subject of a pawn, but where this is the rule it would seem that he carries with him the status of his original domicile, thereby showing the loss of a legal personality as far only as it concerns his transfer from one House to another. The general principle affecting the law of pawn was that where it was unusual to fix a term for payment, the pawn could not at any time be sold. His services were available for the creditor, till such time as redemption could be made, and in certain places as in Yorubaland the pawn could claim redemption. In other places where a fixed term was the essence of the bargain at the expiration of that term the pawn

became the property of the creditor. The deficiency, being the difference between the selling price and the pawn value, was recoverable by the debtor ; notice of the expiration of the term was a condition to the rights of ownership, and though interest was demandable in certain places it would seem to be an introduction of civilised ideas.

Mr. Sarbah in his "Fanti Customary Law" says, "Cruickshank is in error as to the master's rights of concubinage. As a matter of fact, unless it was distinctly stipulated at the time of giving the pawn that the master or his successor may so treat the female pawn, any improper behaviour of this nature by the master or any of his blood relatives or any of his servants cancelled the debt and discharged the pawn and her family from all liabilities." This is the principle of the African native law, and it is consistent with the theory of the Roman jurists that the creditor was not entitled to the use or the profits of a pledge unless there was a contract affording such rights, and the reason given in the Digest for the rights of the usufructuary over the issue of his female slave would be applicable in this case, that she was "in usufructu," and not "ut pariat," *i.e.* she was let not for her increase, but for her service.

It has been suggested by more than one authority that slavery is an invention of African barbarism, and other writers have gone so far as to imply that it is the natural condition of the African. It is true that Greek and Roman authorities maintained the existence of natural slavery, by which they meant that Nature intended dominion for the citizen who was endowed with ruling powers, while to the barbarian was given moderate capacity and physical strength for the purposes of subjection. The reasoning of these theorists was based on the argument of convenience that the one who was incapable of judgment and in need of protection would very well be content to serve the other who was in a capacity to rule ; but in the main it will be seen that this theory was the outcome of patriotic ignorance as Hamerton calls it, for all who were not Greeks, and later on, not Romans, were looked on as barbarians whom Nature ordained to serve. Aristotle in the Politics reasons that nature intended barbarians to be slaves. Euripides in the Iphigenia refers to "the barbarian slaves by nature." Ulpian in the Digest,

in somewhat doubtful sense, mentions the natural servient class, and no doubt in the same way all who are proud of country would look on the foreigner as inferior and perhaps the unfortunate negro as a servant of servants so qualified by Nature. But this could hardly be the case, for Locke in his *Treatise on Government* says, "To understand political power aright and derive it from its original, we must consider what estate all men are naturally in—and that is—a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the Law of Nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man." He further says, "The actual liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the Law of Nature for his rule. The liberty of man in society is to be under no legislative power but that established by consent in the commonwealth, nor under the dominion of any will or restraint of any law but what the Legislature shall enact according to the trust put in it." Puffendorf in the *Law of Nature and Nations*, after referring to the men of genius on the one part and the stupid and incapable on the other, says, "If, therefore, such two parties of men voluntarily consent to the establishing of some common government amongst them, 'tis consonant to Nature that the former be invested with the power of commanding, and that the latter be obliged to the necessity of obeying, by which methods the interests of both will be best provided for."

Major Mockler Ferryman in a useful work on British West Africa says, "From time immemorial the native of West Africa has been a slave," and he also adds, "the institution of domestic social slavery is part and parcel of the black man's life." It is, indeed, a truth that negro servitude was recognised as a legitimate custom by the negro himself, for it was based on a principle of law founded on justice and equity, with the exception of penal slavery, an improvement on the primitive method of self-help and the capture of prisoners by banditti, an outcome of the slave-trade days; all other kinds of slavery in Western Africa arose from express or tacit consent. That slavery by capture in war was based on a kind of compact is supported on

the authority of Cicero, Livy, and others ; “ non contra naturam est spoliare eum quem honestum est occidere,” says Cicero, which would imply that in a war the parties are supposed to stake their lives, and the conqueror, if he chose to take the services of his opponent, was at liberty to do so. Besides this, however, capture in war in West Africa is based on another consideration, that by a sort of fiction prisoners are supposed to be merely in custody till they can obtain redemption. Locke says, “ Indeed, the captive having by his fault forfeited his own life by some act that deserves death, he to whom he has forfeited it may, when he has him in his power, delay to take it and make use of him to his own service, and he does him no injury thereby.” Voluntary slavery is also based on compact, which is an agreement between two freemen that one shall surrender his rights to the other in return for protection and support. It is true that during the Roman commonwealth with few exceptions no freeman was allowed by contract to become the slave of another, for it was looked on as an unconscionable bargain and inequitable—inconsistent with the natural rights of a citizen ; but this, it will be observed, was between Roman and Roman, as the Greeks among themselves, being of the same race and similar religion, felt united by such bonds as did not subsist between them and the barbarian or non-Greek element. Among the Africans on the other hand, as with the hired servant of the Jewish Law, a voluntary slave was privileged, the bargain was somewhat in the nature of pawn, without a term fixed for payment, and with foreigners for the most part to whom the Roman equity in this case would hardly seem to apply, besides that it was based on the extra consideration of protection and support as the commendation of Anglo-Saxon law much practised in feudal days.

The condition of the half-free, which in the literal sense of the term is a slave born free, not bought, was one of privilege based on a tacit agreement of indemnity : apart from this idea it was a gradual transition in the lineage of the House from servitude to liberty.

This is the principle of the law which the native African upholds, and the principle is the law.

It is said that after the capture of Bida Sir George Taubman

Goldie, who no doubt was impressed with what seemed to him the horrible atrocities of slavery, manumitted the slaves of that place and took them over to a new settlement, which was named Victoria. On their being told to farm the land and to use it as their own they complained that they were happy when at Bida and supplied with all necessities of life. "Why bring us here?" said they. "We wish to be taken back to Bida." Another story runs that Sir Gilbert Carter, on a visit to the interior of Lagos, made mention to the Chiefs, who formed a splendid retinue, of the iniquity of slave-holding. To his surprise, they told him he was addressing mostly slaves who were in almost every respect as influential as their masters, and that he had better leave the question of slavery alone as he did not seem to understand it. Major Mockler Ferryman further says:—"The African negro sees nothing outrageous nor even extraordinary in the mere fact of being held in bondage. The Koran expressly permits the Faithful to possess domestic slaves, and though to our notions the mere institution of slavery is abhorrent, yet, in reality, it compares very favourably (certainly among the African Muhammadans) with the slavery of Ancient Rome or with the serfdom existing in our own country but a few centuries ago." The slaves at Kukuruku on the Niger when released would not return to settle in their homes, though most of them visited their relatives and friends, and even sometimes made temporary stay for purposes of trade. Mr. Robinson, referring to the Hausas of Hausaland, says:—"In regard to the general treatment to which the average slave is exposed, I found it exceedingly difficult to form any satisfactory opinion. There are undoubtedly many cases in which, so far as material comfort is concerned, the slave is every bit as well off as if he had remained free. Many slaves appear contented with their position," and he adds, "is not this very contentment a proof of the degradation to which the slave has been reduced, inasmuch as he has ceased to aspire to a condition of freedom which is the birthright of his humanity?" To which a plausible reply would be that the slave seemed to understand the principle of law on which the government of his country is based, which probably Mr. Robinson with all his knowledge of Hausaland did not and would not understand.

The able editor of *West Africa* for the 25th of December, 1901, writes :—"The position of the slave so-called in Muhamadan and even in many Pagan communities is a position of ease and comfort compared with the poverty of the masses in European cities as with the hard-working, cheerless lives of our manufacturing and mill hands. If people would take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the ethics of domestic slavery or, more properly, servitude in West Africa, there would be less interference with it, and a truer appreciation of the facts would do much to curtail the unfortunate results which accrue from its attempted abolition." The first and necessary advice the Susu fetish priest would give with reference to the dealings of the master with his newly-acquired slave is "good treatment," and in my opinion few tribes treat their slaves with more care and consideration than the Susu and the Yoruba. Indeed, good treatment of the slave is so general on the Coast that to aspire to a condition of theoretical freedom is almost supererogatory. Mr. Robinson himself says, "some slaves are every bit as well off as if they had remained free," which implies that under ordinary conditions of good behaviour most slaves might be as happy as freemen. Some might hold it to be just that this "African child of eight," as Burton calls him, or as Kipling would say—half devil and half child, should live under the control of the wise men of his race, be guided by their counsels and subject to their wish that trade may prosper, agriculture advance and the land have rest, by which I mean that the scourges of pauperism, robbery, prostitution, usury and other influences concomitant with the blessings of civilisation may be shut out? Locke, in his Treatise of Civil Government, says :—"Whosoever out of a state of nature unite into a community must be understood to give up all the power necessary to the ends for which they unite into society to the majority of the community. And this is done by barely agreeing to unite into one political society, which is all the compact that is or needs be between the individuals that enter into or make up a commonwealth." Kant, in the Philosophy of Law, referring to the basis on which political society rests, says :—"All and each of the people give up their external freedom in order to receive it immediately again as members of a commonwealth."

The commonwealth is the people viewed as united altogether into a state. And thus it is not to be said that the individual in the state has sacrificed a part of his inborn external freedom for a particular purpose, but he has abandoned his wild, lawless freedom wholly in order to find all his proper freedom entire and undiminished, but in the form of a regulated order of dependence, that is, in a civil state regulated by laws of right. This relation of dependence thus arises out of his own regulative law-giving will."

It is true that the political organisation of the negro in Negroland has not passed beyond the tribal state, but it should not be forgotten that they were descended from one original stock, and as such their political institutions were the same in organisation and principle. Sir Henry Maine tells us as a suggestion that the germ of society is the family. "If I were attempting," he says, "for the more special purposes of the jurist to express compendiously the characteristics of the situation in which mankind disclose themselves at the dawn of their history, I should be satisfied to quote a few verses from the 'Odyssey' of Homer.

τοῖσιν δ' οὐτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες,
 θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
 παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.

"They have neither assemblies for consultation nor themists, but everyone exercises jurisdiction over his wives and his children, and they pay no regard to one another." On the same principle it could be shown that the West African negro, the distant connection of the Egyptian race, belonged originally to the Hamitic group. Rawlinson in his *Ancient Egypt* says, "it is quite conceivable that the negro type was produced by a gradual degeneration from that which we find in Egypt. It is even conceivable that the Egyptian type was produced by gradual advance and amelioration from that of the negro. Still, whencesoever derived, the Egyptian people as it existed in the flourishing times of Egyptian history was beyond all question a mixed race showing diverse affinities."

Some writers appear to have attributed a distinct and separate origin to the pure Negro race, but among the African people it is

an established fact that this is not the case. The people of Southern Nigeria, who it is said are of pure negro origin, sprang either from the Yoruba tribes, or from the Bantu stock: there was a capital known in early days as the Ile-Ife, the present City of Benin, and in a map supposed to have been drawn in the fifteenth century, it is said Ife is referred to as comprising the area where Benin, Jekri land, and the Lagos of to-day now lie. Groups of the community in course of time migrated to various places on the Niger, *e.g.* Onicha, Abo, and these intermarrying with the Igbos acquired a foreign element. These Igbos, the dominant people of the Delta like the Efiks of the Upper Cross River, are of the Hamitic stock, and as tradition has it, the Yoruba people inhabiting the area covered by the jurisdiction of Ile-Ife sprang from a Semitic stock. The Hon. Doctor Johnson in a paper read before the Lagos Institute says:—"The Yorubas claim to have originally emigrated from the East. To them, the East is Mecca, and Mecca is the East, hence, we not unfrequently hear from old people that their ancestors came originally from Mecca. It is more likely, however, that the Eastern Sudan was their original home, and apart from their habits and mode of thought, which are peculiarly eastern, their manners and customs also point in the same direction. If one notices the way they bound their dead for interment and see how exactly it is with the manner Egyptian mummies are bound up, the truth will impress itself in his mind that they are of the same stock as the ancient Egyptians. We may even go further and notice the kind of cloth the mummies are bound with, and we shall easily recognise in them our Samoya cloths. Again, in what are known as Ife marble stone we see carvings, not unlike Egyptian carvings, and they must have been done by people from those parts, the art being lost to their degenerate descendants of these days. It has been said that Captain Clapperton in his travels found a geographical work written by the Sultan Bello of Sokoto in which he stated that the Yoruba nation originated from the remnant of the children of Canaan who were of the tribe of Nimrod."

Of the Agni-Chi and Ewe speaking peoples it is conjectured that they were influenced by the Libyan peoples of the Upper

Niger, which, though an autochthonous people of Northern Africa yet were subject to the Melle Empire. Sarbah, writing of the supposed origin of the Fanti, says, "Well established tradition has it that the people were originally living in the regions of the Kong Mountains, and somewhere in Central Africa. Unwilling to turn Moslems and driven from their homes they founded a state, Takieman; but through some reason or other, a portion of Takieman betook themselves towards the coast. This portion came to be referred to as Takieman Fantstufu—that is, that portion of the Takiemans who have gone from the main body. In process of time this long, roundabout designation became contracted into Mfantasi or Fanti." It would also seem that the earliest record of contact with the North is the visit of Hanno the Carthaginian in the year B.C. 550. It was then that Akra received the name which she bears to this day. The Susus it is well known are of Mandingan stock and speech, and though in these days much subdued by Fula influence, yet in or about the thirteenth century they were masters of Timbaktu. So in general, it might be stated that the Negro was anciently connected with the Egyptian people, at any rate in culture and to some extent by influence of language; while all Equatorial Africa has been permeated by conquerors of the Hamitic stock.

It is the opinion of certain writers that the West African Negro is responsible for the degradation which he suffers as it is said his white brother merely continued in the slave-trade what he had been practising before. Vauptauk Colvin, in a letter published in *West Africa* of the 11th June, 1902, says, "Slavery was an African institution. As the black races of Africa enslaved and sold one another it is the black race who is responsible for their enslavement and for any degradation attributable to slavery"—but Mr. Colvin, it would seem, is in error. The abominable practice of slave-raiding was not recognised before the slave-trade days; if it was practised at all, it was not general and was forbidden by the Jewish law, Ex. xxi. 16. The Phœnicians, the great representatives of the Semitic race, whose influence on the African Negro cannot be denied, traded in slaves not only of negro descent but of any race with whom they happened to be at war; they sold them in the public market

place or disposed of them by private bargain and this condition was not the result of slave-raiding, but of capture in war or vindictive surprise attack. Some writers again have suggested the existence of the practice among the Egyptians, but it would seem that the cases on record were not raids in the correct sense of the term, only what in modern days we should call—"a punitive expedition." King Amenhotep III. who was supposed to indulge in this practice most, and it is said reduced twenty-four Negro tribes to bondage, only acted with the spirit of the times: his father and forefathers before him both hungered and thirsted after empire, was it not therefore to be expected that he would do the same? He must have known the warlike qualities of those "miserable Cushites," whom they called to their assistance and who acquitted themselves so well—he must have remembered his maternal ancestor—herself a "miserable Cushite,"—he may have had a desire to capture rather than to kill, but to the African mind this is natural: is it not possible that moved with a recollection of these facts he would adopt no other than legitimate means for the better fulfilment of his purpose? Mockler Ferryman, an authority on West African affairs, writes:—"In early times, *i.e.* some five or six centuries ago, slave-raiding as now practised was possibly unknown, slavery existed it is true, but the slaves were mostly captives of fair war and their descendants who of course remained slaves. The demand for slaves when the oversea trade commenced was greater than the slave raiding chiefs could supply and so tempting were the inducements offered that they soon found means to fill the baracoons." Mr. Dennett, in a valuable paper on the Bavili customs contributed to the Journal of the African Society of April 1902, writes:—"It is evident that slaves in the older days were people suffering from the effect of their sins or those of their ancestors. In the beginning of the trading in slaves the natives sold only those slaves or criminals whom they might otherwise have slain. As the supply of these became scarce the coast tribes would themselves become slave-traders going into the wilder parts of the country where slaves were not only criminals but prisoners of war. As the trade increased men were made slaves on any slight pretence until at last slave-raiding succeeded to slave-trading, and instead of being a kind of paying transportation of convicts it became

a fearful curse to the country." This is important at least to show that slave-raiding originated from the coast line in the days when the demand for slaves was greatest and in course of time extended into the interior disseminating evil influence.

Considering that the lot of the slave was one of "ease and comfort" and his status inclined to freedom, there was not much law providing manumission as necessity did not call for it. Redemption was generally permissible, even to the penal slave, and the idea seemed to have gained ground on the principle that prisoners taken in war were merely in custody as a reward to the several Chiefs who contributed to the expense of the war till they could obtain redemption, the equivalent of European war indemnity. This was paid to whomsoever was master of the slave and is the basis of the prevalent native idea that no one could be denied his freedom, *vide* Timane, Yoruba and other proverbs. But while in some places it was material that the amount paid should not come from the private property of the slave, *e.g.* Onitsha on the Niger, in others this was not so, on the ground that during his lifetime the slave could not use a moiety of his property in any way he chose. Informal modes of manumission were so varied and seemed to depend so much on the caprice of the manumitters, that I find it unnecessary to refer to them any more than I have done already. It became usual of late in Southern Nigeria to grant what was known as a "freedom paper," which was done either when the master was found guilty of cruelty to the slave or when with his consent the slave paid for his redemption. *Members of the House of Ishie Òkòhò v. Abuma Okoho.* There are cases of a general emancipation very unlike that in the Sierra Leone Protectorate and Ilorin—but these are the result of missionary efforts, few and far between, where the masters are made to believe that domestic slavery is a sin and are actuated with that generosity that characterised some Polish proprietors a few hundred years ago.

The African tribes in early days were mostly occupied in agricultural or pastoral pursuits—hence there was no necessity for them to put their slaves to death as they could easily dispose of them by sale, when they had no need of them, and in cases when they had there would be no difficulty in rendering them support. It is true in those days they indulged in human

sacrifice, but this was only as a part of their religious ceremony. Tylor in his "Primitive Culture" gives many instances of this in America, Asia and Europe, and with reference to West Africa, he writes:—"The same idea which in Guinea makes it common for the living to send messages by the dying to the dead is developed in Ashanti and Dahome into a monstrous system of massacre. The King of Dahome must enter Dead-Land with a ghastly court of hundreds of wives, eunuchs, singers, drummers, and soldiers." Nor is this all. Captain Burton describes the yearly "Customs." "They periodically supply the departed monarch with fresh attendants in the shadowy world. For unhappily these murderous scenes are an expression lamentably mistaken but perfectly sincere of the liveliest filial piety. Even the annual slaughter must be supplemented by almost daily murder; whatever action however trivial is performed by the King it must dutifully be reported to his sire in the shadowy realm. A victim, almost always a war captive, is chosen—the message is delivered to him—an intoxicating draught of rum follows it, and he is despatched to Hades in the best of humours."

It has further been suggested that the capture of slaves was conducive to ill-treatment and cruelty on the part of the master, which no doubt is true, but the chances of such treatment are no greater than are those of good treatment and consideration shown by him under similar circumstances. Froude tells us that the American master who was so notorious for harshness and cruelty to his slave, cared for him when he was ill—knew Cæsar from Pompey and maintained him when he was old and past work. Is it not therefore to be expected that the African master who considered his slave as descended from the same immediate stock as himself, who counselled with him and was almost invariably of the same race, tribe and colour as himself, would show even more consideration towards him than his American brother?

It will be noted that in agricultural and pastoral communities the simplicity of life admits of little distinction between the master and the slave, *e.g.* among the Igbos, Yorubas, Susus, &c., it is not unusual to see either the wives or the masters with their slaves cultivating the same field. The Negro is naturally agricultural and gifted in the knowledge of occult

science, the backbone of the former is domestic slavery, it is therefore to be regretted that instead of devoting himself to the improvement of these qualities, he should fritter out a life of imitation in the world of manufacture and thereby render himself a failure when he is not. Allen Upward in *West Africa* of December 13, 1902, writes:—"A yam field in the province of Kabba is a sight worth seeing by those who condemn the laziness of the black-man. Miles of furrows, each furrow cut crosswise into little hillocks and each hillock carefully thatched over on the top to protect the young shoots—such is the common picture of African Agriculture." Pictures of this could be drawn from almost any other part on the Coast and when they do not exist it is due simply to discouragement brought about by slave-raiding since the slave-trade days. In such a case as this the masters would find no difficulty in supporting their slaves, and it would be to their advantage to preserve their captives and to treat them with all consideration, that they may the better reap the benefit which could not arise on any other terms of their labours in the fields.

Mr. E. D. Morel, an able authority in West African affairs in his late work of that title writes, "We hear a great deal about technical education in West Africa—carpentry, brick-making and so forth all very admirable in their way—but the time and money spent in these directions could be more profitably engaged by perfecting the existing native industries of West Africa and by creating new ones which would do more than anything else to increase the prosperity of the country and at the same time be based upon sound science, for the natural instincts and aptitude of the Negro are pre-eminently agricultural. Far more lasting good could be achieved thus.

"In some parts of Southern Nigeria it was usual for the master to take what was called 'Topping' or 'Work Bar' from the slave who had a small percentage of the profits derived in his private property—but in other parts of the same place, *e.g.* Old Calabar—such custom is not known.

"From the foregoing remarks it could be seen that slave labour on the West Coast would be of greater advantage to the master than free-labour: for though the slave

receives no wages as the free-labourer yet there are other inducements which make him work as well for his master, in the desire to acquire a status in the House or even in the community and an ambition to be released from all labour for his master before the stated time. And it could not be denied that the West African slave enjoys as great a security over his private property in his lifetime as the free-labourer.

"It has been the custom of late to grant a general emancipation to West African slaves on the apparent ground that slavery is detrimental to the economic interests of a community, and it is better to be free than bond. Sir Frederic Cardew, once Governor of Sierra Leone, made a precipitate attempt to effect this, and without even granting compensation to the Chiefs whose slaves were worth to them from £2 a head and upwards, he eventually made it law. A general rising of which this was the main cause, outrageous action on the part of the emancipated clothed with a little Government authority, much loss of property and valuable lives, and evils greater than the then prevailing ones—became the inevitable result. For should there be a general emancipation of the African slave even on equitable terms, there is no doubt that greater evils would arise from it than the good that is naturally expected. They would do but little work and in the generality of cases would do so only when they could not rob, beg, gamble, prostitute themselves or practise any other evil as appearing with the rising wake of civilisation."

I have known labourers at the Gambia living a life of freedom decline a job even for the reward of money, and when at last they were prevailed on to accept the offer—they made it clearly understood that they did so not by way of necessity but for favour. In the Lagos Court some time ago—I remember a witness saying he would take a cask of tar as a job for a white man, presumably because he felt that if he did not he might be compelled to or get into serious trouble with the authorities, but for a black man whose influence for harm he knew was slight—he could not do the same.

The reason for this is, that in agricultural countries slaves will not work for hire—all they need is contentment which in West Africa is easily gained. Nature is generous and bountiful in

gifts and their wants are few. When the constitution of government is changed, and the evils of civilisation are introduced, the slave indulges in these as a luxury, and hence come ruin and the downfall of a place. Bagehot in his "Physics and Politics" writes:—"All freemen in new countries must be pretty equal; everyone has labour and everyone has land: capital at least in agricultural countries (for pastoral countries are very different) is of little use: it cannot hire labour; the labourers go and work for themselves. There is a story often told of a great English capitalist who went out to Australia with a ship-load of labourers and a carriage: his plan was that the labourers should build a house for him and that he would keep his carriage just as in England. But (as the story goes) he had to try and live in his carriage, for his labourers left him and went away to work for themselves." In *West Africa* of Oct. 19, 1901, referring to the capture of Yola in Northern Nigeria we read, "All slave-raiding in this large province will now cease and it is understood that Government will not interfere for the present with domestic slavery, the evil effects of such a policy being still felt in the provinces of Nupe and Ilorin. It upset the internal economy of the whole country, and the male slaves instead of working on their masters' farms became rogues and vagabonds and the females—something worse." It should also be remarked that the *Weekly News* of Sierra Leone has had cause to refer more than once in rather plaintive tone to the "Hooligans of Freetown" who are made up of the slaves emancipated in the Protectorate, which was one of the causes of the bloody outbreak of 1898.

The question then suggests itself—"what is to be done?" A "Colonial Administrator," writing on *West African Problems* with special reference to Protectorates, says, "The answer to this—the kernel of the nut—is to govern the natives in accordance with their own laws and custom and their own Councils and Courts under supervision of the Commissioners except in so far as where certain customs such as human sacrifice, death for witchcraft, the killing of twins, and slave dealing are entirely at variance with the laws of humanity and civilisation." This it would be answered is already being and has been done for years past.

Voluntary and hereditary slavery might well be permitted to continue: it is not possible that slavery by capture would now arise as with Government authority tribal wars have ceased, and slave-raiding is a thing of the past, nor is penal servitude necessary as there are Courts and Judges available. A mild form of domestic servitude and a system of apprenticeship I do not disapprove of. And lastly, it is necessary to remark that the French refrain from interfering with the domestic slavery of the Negro, because they realise that upon this, as says Mr. Morel—the social fabric of Africa is based. It is not that our brothers in the neighbouring colonies are less brutal than we, nor is it that we are intellectually, morally, or physically inferior to the Negroes of the French colonies: if we have not been able to show better results in the furtherance of the English cause, it is not of ourselves that this has not been done—the system on which we are governed—the principle of law—this is the cause—the fountain source of failure. It would behove our Governors diligently to study the constitution from the native point of view; it is necessary that other evils more permanent in their cause, be promptly wiped away: success cannot be ensured without the co-operation of the native, and this in turn will be obtained only by sympathetic administration, by which I mean that ability to mete out justice without distinction of race, caste or creed, and a facility to recognise the natural attributes of race, and to maintain peace.

A. E. M. GIBSON,
Old Calabar.



HARTEBEESTE AND REEDBUCK.



A BRIDGE ON THE LUITIKILA.

MOUNTAIN AND MARSH IN CENTRAL AFRICA

(A SHORT ACCOUNT OF NATURE AND SPORT IN N.E. RHODESIA, B. C. AFRICA, BETWEEN THE MUCHINGA MOUNTAINS AND BANGWEULU).

CHINYAMA is the name that this part of the country goes by and means "the land of Game," doubtless drawn here in such countless numbers by the salt on the plains—which, especially at Luchembe's salt pans at Chibwa, is a great local industry. The "salt" answers, on analysis, to saltpetre and potash, and is greatly prized by the natives. The major portion of the country is composed of scrub and plain, dull and ugly, the trees having been mutilated by years and years of lopping which is necessary for the lazy system of cultivation practised by the Awemba, namely to burn huge piles of wood to kill the reeds, etc., and so render tilling unnecessary. But on either side of the dull tableland lies more interesting country; eastwards the Muchinga Highlands with their almost unrivalled scenery; and westwards the Marshes, unbeautiful and tiring but, nevertheless, interesting, of Bangweulu, called by courtesy, a lake. My first visit to the mountains was in September 1902, and coming up from the never ending scrub, and bursting suddenly into the midst of the most lovely scenery imaginable, it was as though one had stepped suddenly into Fairyland. At an altitude of 6,000 feet, the air was magnificent, and, though I could not find any conifers, it seemed laden with the scent of cedar.

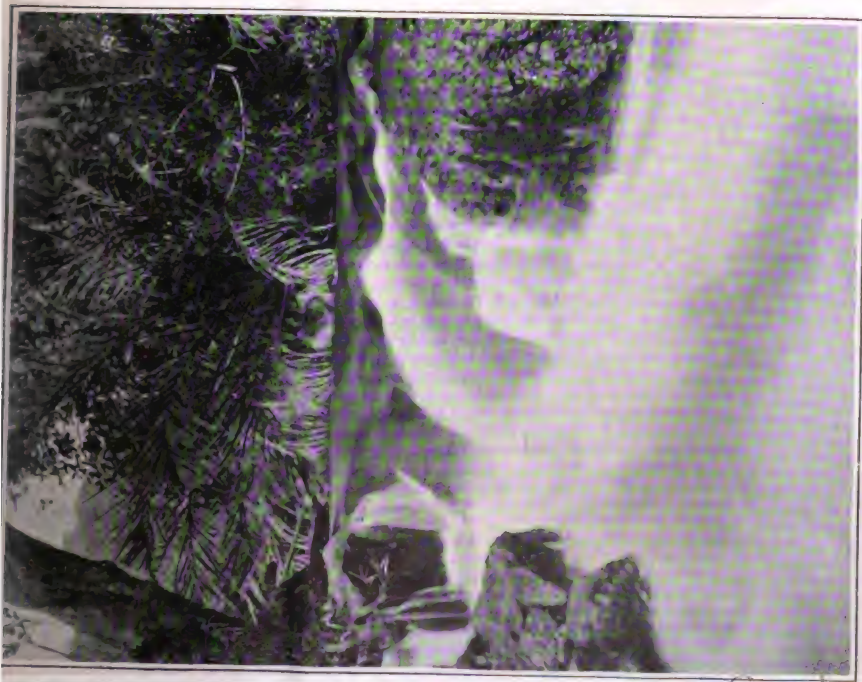
It was only an hour or two after leaving the road at Luenzi's that I found myself in the mountains, and, having passed the Fundé, a small stream, and the first tributary of the Luitikila I soon found myself on the watershed; behind are the waters of the Congo—in front those of the Zambezi. At this point in the

giant watershed it is the waters of the Luitikila and the Nyamadzi that fall on either side, the former flowing into the waters of Banguelo, the latter, which drains almost the entire system, into the Loangwa. On my left was a magnificent span of the Rupiri Range. Rupiri only means mountains, but as far as I could ascertain this particular range—the real watershed, in fact—is called “The” Rupiri. The summit was a mass of broken granite, rugged and precipitous, not unlike the Lion’s Rock in Dovedale. Lower down, hardly changing its precipitous character, it was choked with trees, and at its foot amidst a tangled mass of creepers flowed the Mwasesi with “liquid voice of waters low and sweet.” I descended on the other side of the valley, a zig-zag rocky path, down which it was impossible to descend save at a headlong pace, checked now and then by clinging on to a tree, and then, crossing the Mwasesi, climbed up another hill to Chitembo’s—standing, as it were, on a mound raised in the middle of a saucer. To my right as I had descended were two peaks standing high together called Mankolé, and away in the S.E. was one that must have been particularly lofty, which went by the name of mount Iwangwé. The next morning I descended gradually for a considerable time, passing the Chikompo and two of its tributaries, and was afraid that I had passed the glories of the mountain scenery behind me. On one plain the spoor of the roan antelope was plentifully in evidence, and it seemed almost as if I had returned to the plains. But another half hour sufficed to assure me, and I found myself in a maze of mountains and valleys, bewildering alike in their multitude as in their magnificence, and far surpassing any scenery I had as yet passed. It seemed as if the range of unrivalled vistas would never end, and time after time I halted to rest and gaze, or clambered to some point of vantage to try to gain a more comprehensive view. There was no rest in such scenery as this—it was beautiful, awe-inspiring, beyond the comprehension of man—but it was tiring. It would have taken a lifetime to become accustomed to such a view—and now, writing at a distance of some months the vision is but blurred. It was like gazing at some enormous canvas covering many square yards of a gallery wall, and crammed with detail—it failed to leave the concise impression that is photographed upon one’s mind by some slight



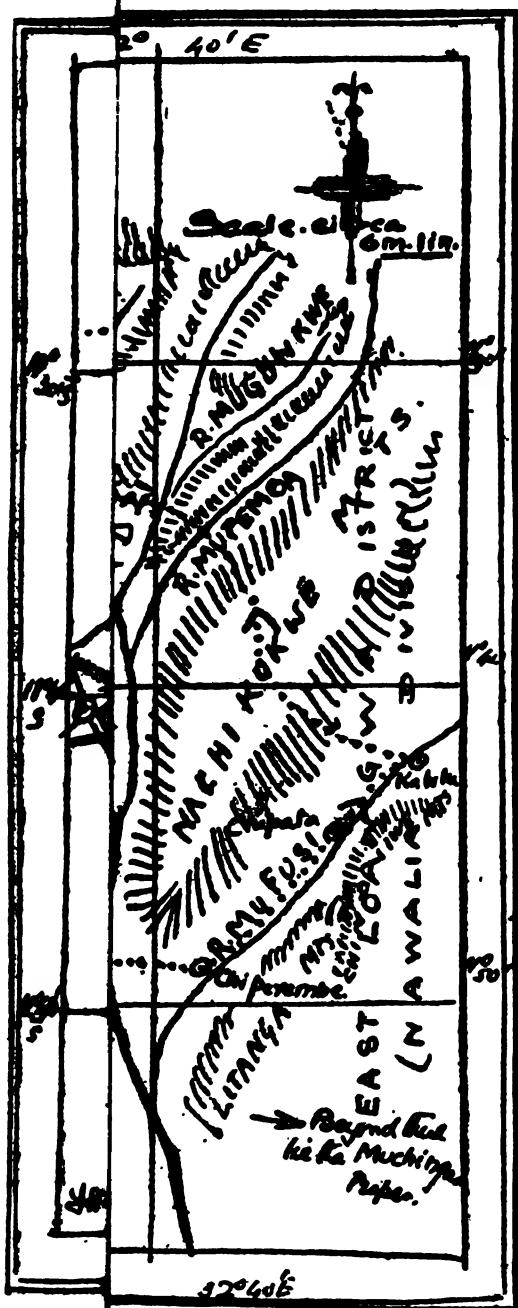
[Face p. 54]

A MOUNTAIN FALL.



ON THE MUKUNGWA.

20, 40'E



[To face p. 54.]

impressionistic sketch. Yet what wealth of beauty was there! Mountain ranges, frowning peaks, rock tipped and clothed with forest, giant trees, and clinging creepers—rare-coloured birds, flying in confusion at the unwonted interruption, with their ceaseless twittering; precipices, gorges, broad valleys, tiny mountain burns rising from bubbling springs and falling headlong to

“gaily press

Upon their way, a mightier stream to meet.”

And, in the countless creeks, wide streams—bubbling, splashing, sparkling streams—rushing and roaring over rocks, and overhung with all the deep-green glories of a tropical foliage. Finally I reached a stream that was just flowing into the Nyamadzi, as lovely a torrent as one could wish to see, and I followed it to its junction with the mightier river—at this point about sixteen yards across, but broadened into a swirling pool that seemed to call with all the eloquence it could command for a fly. However I had no time to wait there, and I fear it would have been of little use, for I have yet to find a fish in Central Africa that will rise to fly. After having gazed for a long time at the rich glory of the pool, with its trailing creepers swirling in the eddies, I retraced my steps a little, and then forced my way through the undergrowth to see what was round the bend. Once there the contrast was marvellous. Below me the cool pool, calm save for the eddies that betrayed the troubled waters above. Up stream a regular torrent—more of a continued sloping waterfall than anything else—it might have been in Scotland but for the foliage that framed it on either side and the tropical sky above. A giant of the forest had fallen across the foaming swirl and by this I crossed—sitting astride and using my hands to jump along, I confess; for nailed boots do not tempt one to cross upright on a slippery surface. A few yards, a hundred or so perhaps—yet another—the tributary of the Nyamadzi, and soon I emerged into a long open plain formed by the Mufusi, behind me being the cone-like peak of Kasisamwele. In front the Litanga and Chindirwé Ranges, and beyond them the real Muchinga and, on my left, the Nachikokwé Mountains.

Along this valley I proceeded the next day—and the day after struck up north-west across the Nachikokwé and crossed

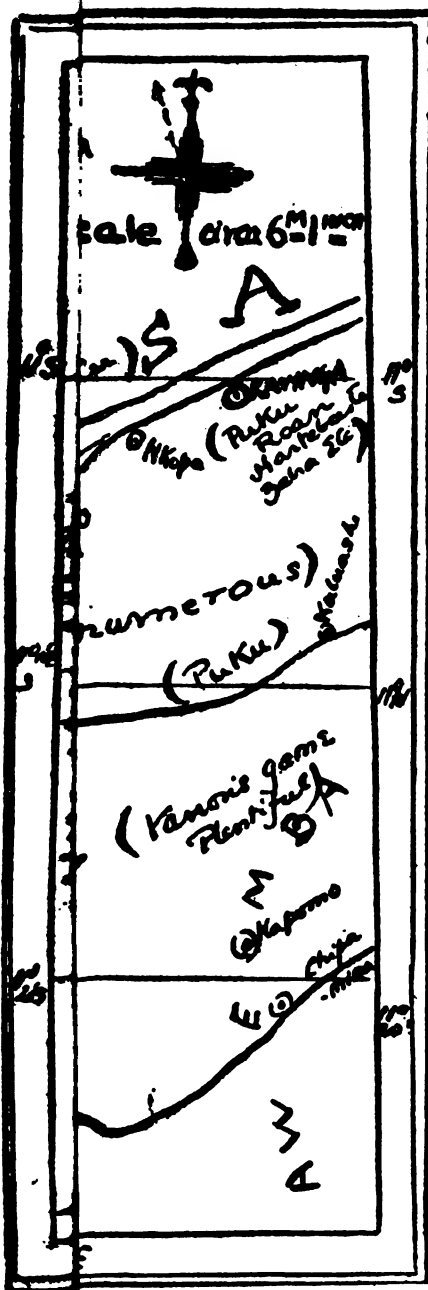
the Nyamadzi once more with several of its tributaries. Each one in its turn was pretty and the day's route was full of ceaseless enjoyment, but nothing approached in glory to the day that I have described at some length.

The next day, still keeping N.W. by compass, for of paths there were none, I scaled the Lisase Range and the Rupiri once more—grand rugged scenery, but except for its grandeur, and its hugeness it was not, in the ordinary sense of the word, beautiful, and camped on the Mukungwa, which at all times is a fine stream, but in its upper reaches is truly superb, and runs the Nyamadzi very near for premier place—and following the Mukungwa on the next day, I reached the plains. Here there is little to tell of. The scenery is terrible—the sun scorching, the only compensation being the sport. The first night I got a little steinbuck just after sunset—a good omen, for it is a small enough target for a rifle at 200 yards; and the next morning, I accounted, without difficulty, for a couple of hartebeeste and a reedbuck. I rested one day, and then proceeded west towards the Chambezi.¹ As I was travelling fast I could only shoot of an evening, and only bagged one eland before reaching Kavinga's. Here I had to wait two days for a fleet of native canoes to be collected, and having shot some meat for my men, I “slacked” under trees reading all day till evening, when I had the bathe with which Kavinga's is always synonymous in my mind, and I caught a few “pindé” bottom fishing, and one “mananga” spinning.

Finally I set out with nine canoes on that complicated series of canals, the estuary of the Chambezi and Lulingila. Few places could be more difficult to map—and few easier, and yet difficult to describe. One *can* sum up the scenery briefly—firstly a river, broadening until it reaches a breadth of a mile; occasional valleys some five to ten miles across, connected by channels on which one's view is bounded by high banks of papyrus, and, if one could rise in a balloon, one could see nothing but a vast expanse of green and blue—a treeless, watery waste. That is all there is to “say” about it, but it by no means *describes* it. It is an education to move through such a sight,

¹ The Chambezi is really the extremest source of the Congo. It rises on the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau.—Ed.

UARY.



[To face p. 56.]



ON THE CHAMBEZI.



RIVER LUITIKILA.

and as it is unknown ground—or rather water—it is full of interest. Yet it conveyed to my mind most emphatically that it was “the last place created.” The Sahara may be awful, yet it could hardly be more depressing.

However, it must not be supposed that a week’s cruise in open canoes in a weary swamp (it is nothing more) beneath the glare of a tropical sun is entirely dull. A line out behind trolling gives plenty of excitement, especially when a big “Mchéne,” fighting every pound of his weight, is struggling for liberty, and you at the other end are standing in a wobbling “dug-out,” trying to bring him safely to the gaff, held by an inexperienced Zanzibari—and in between the rapidly succeeding whirls of the winch, the shot gun is in constant use, for every yard of the way countless flocks of geese, duck, teal, cranes, and many varicoloured wild fowl rise hurriedly in front, and fly on ahead or, best of all, come back overhead. And, passing the time thus, one comes among the Wa-unga, weird, conservative people that have lived in these swamps for generations—probably for centuries—lived mostly on fish and bananas. A quiet, peaceful people, gaping in hundreds at a white man, the first they had ever seen—each village shaded by the (not indigenous) “mtowa” tree (from the bark of which they make their nets), and by banana palms—all protected with canes, to keep off their numerous sheep and goats. The islands are sandy and waste, intersected with swamps, the home of the Lechwe and the Sitatunga, the breeding place of that arch-enemy of man, the mosquito.

A day or two’s rest—and back again—landing here and there where there is land, and killing (on the Lulingila) a tsesébe¹ or two (the only place known, north of the Zambesi where these bastard hartebeeste are found, and here they are numerous), and so back to the plains and the scent. The interest of the trip is over, but there is many a long day’s trek before the high Muchinga system comes in sight again, and the cool station where arrears of work await the wanderer.

FRANK H. MELLAND.

In letters home F. H. M. has mentioned that his welcome among these dwellers in these swamps was largely due to their

¹ *Damaliscus*, antelope.—ED.

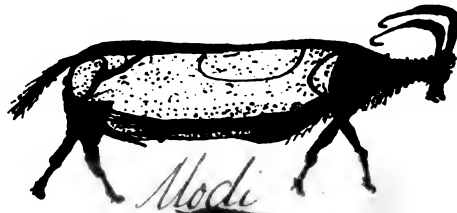
discovery that he could swim and dive and paddle a canoe standing. They had an idea that no white man was any good on water, and they watched in crowds on the shore while he dived and swam for them. As he says it is one of the many things he has often had to thank Oxford training for. After his cruise among the Islands—census taking—on returning to his starting point the chief, a huge man of splendid physique, welcomed him “with chuckles of delight.” The whole journey is performed on foot, and carried swung on a pole between two men, in a hammock called a machila. There is no wheeled traffic of any kind yet in these regions—or any mules, bullocks or horses.—E. M.



Tol'e a Njou



Tol'a moto.



[Face p. 52]

Drawings by WILHELM BWINDI, a Native of the Cameroons, to illustrate the ideas of the Cameroons People as to the moon and stars.

KNOWLEDGE AND THEORIES OF ASTRONOMY ON THE PART OF THE ISUBU NATIVES OF THE WESTERN SLOPES OF THE CAMEROON MOUNTAINS, IN GERMAN WEST AFRICA (KAMERUN)

BY I. KELLER, *Missionary.*

(Translated by permission for the African Society's Journal from the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* by MISS M. HUBER.)

THE following notes come from the Mission pupil, Wilhelm Bwindi, an Isubu man from Bimbina. The interspersed pictures are a true rendering of his drawings. In the translation, I have kept as much as possible to the expression of the original, so as to give the unadulterated meaning and idea of the Cameroon negroes :—

A sign, that we have at night time, at dawn and in the morning, is the star Eyombwe (Sombwe). (This means the morning star, the planet Venus.)

From six to half past six o'clock (according to the season of the year), the sun will appear.

Now I will tell about the star, which shows us that day and night have a boundary-line about the time of dawn, the beginning of day. Between four and five o'clock this star reaches his highest point. He begins to be visible quite down on the earth and mounts up the firmament to the heights, till the people see the morning (namely the clear day-light). The star goes out about half-past five o'clock. (As the drawing shows the star is dark at five o'clock, which means, that it is overshadowed by the rising sun in the drawing.)

At three o'clock in the morning when the cock sees this star rise, he begins to tell the people! "Really, day is breaking." His voice sounds then with a loud kokélelū. He begins his

song thus at three o'clock ; then he sleeps a little more till four o'clock, when he then crows for the second time. Now again he falls into a short sleep till about half-past four, but he waits exactly forty-seven minutes and forty-seven seconds after four o'clock and then he begins to crow from time to time till five o'clock.

At half-past five o'clock the said star is no more to be seen. (It gets slowly light.)

If at last it is six o'clock, then many countries see the sun suddenly. But many other countries see the sun full and entire at half-past six, or perhaps also again nine minutes later.

Here I have put down the signs that we have for the year.

We Blacks, we have signs upon the firmament and indeed signs of stars which instruct us about the year. (The seasons.)

A sign exists the name of which is Tolē a Njou = Tolē of the Elephants, also the great Tolē. Tolē a moto = Tolē of Man-kind the little Tolē.

Bana ba Nyue = "Orphans" and is so called because the constellation resembles, (according to native ideas), the father of a family, whose wife is dead and whose children stand now abandoned, forlorn and mourning before him.

All this is on one side of the firmament towards the east, our sign for the summer. [See Notes.]

A great sign the Blacks have too and that is the moon, "Mesendi m'ewondo."

The following are our thoughts about it: A woman went on a day of rest (Sunday) in the forest and split wood. (The people carry it home piece by piece.) This woman received a punishment from God. He put her in the moon, to wait for the day of judgement, or to wait (hope) for judgement day.¹

In old, old times all thought this, really everybody, but now, no more everybody, because they are blind.

That is the end of the story of the sign in the moon. This is its end.

Here I have written about a sign of the Blacks. Such a star is called Ngenget' a Sombo.

The sign in the moon.

In olden times we Blacks thought about the moon, that he

¹ That is :—She must split wood, as the picture in the moon shows.



Bana bi Nyue.



Muende m'ewondo

Modi



[Face p. 61.

Drawings by WILHELM BWINDI, a Native of the Cameroons, to illustrate the ideas of the Cameroons People as to the moon and stars.

comes at night time like a sheep on the earth and eats around the huts the banana skins which have been thrown aside. But now not many believe in this fact, because they have discovered, that the moon is a light (lamp) which God has given us, to light us on earth.

Here is the end of the thoughts of the Blacks in the old time.

Another story about the moon in olden times and in our days is as follows: If a woman becomes pregnant at the time the moon is full and later bears a child, be it boy or girl, she shows this child the moon and says to it: "This is your Grandfather." Now later on, should this or another child point with its finger at the moon the mother says to it: "Don't point with your finger at the moon lest he cut off your finger, because he is your Grandfather, therefore give him his due honour."

NOTES ON THE ABOVE BY I. KELLER.

The people of the Cameroons have for the different stages of daybreak pretty accurate descriptions. These are:

Mba'a idiba=the time shortly before the first glimmer of the day, but where the night still holds the light enclosed.

mbata=the "joined-together."

mesanedi ma idiba=the break of day, the dawn, when the first rays of light break through the darkness.

ponda kokekelù, the time of cockcrow about three-quarters past four a.m.

ponda nin', [at this the native passes his hand over his face and shakes his hand in such a way as if he wished to fling away a few drops of water, the sign of making his toilette, the sign too of rising about half-past five o'clock a.m.]

ponda wei i ma busa=the time of sunrise, about six o'clock in the morning.

idibadiba, very early, in the early hours of the morning.

idiba, morning itself.

The summer in Kamerūn¹ begins in the commencement of November and lasts until March. This is the hottest season and the driest. Everything that is inland in Kamerūn is called East, so as to distinguish it from the West, which lies towards the sea.

The German official name of the colony of the Cameroons. The English word Cameroons is a corruption of the Portuguese *Camardēs* (i.e. "prawns") from the number of prawns caught in that estuary by the first Portuguese navigators.

LES SOIRÉES LITTÉRAIRES DES BABEMBA

FABLES

[The following paper is written by one of the French Fathers of the Roman Catholic Mission in the Awemba country of N.E. Rhodesia, British Central Africa.—ED.]

LES AVENTURES DE MAÎTRE LAPIN

LE LAPIN ET LE RENARD.¹

LE lapin et le renard s'associèrent pour vivre en commun. Le lapin dit au renard : "Allons acheter des arachides.—Allons, dit le renard. Et comment ferons-nous ?—Attache-moi, dit le lapin, dans un paquet d'herbes, ficelle-moi et va me vendre, puis nous mangerons les arachides." Le renard arrache de l'herbe, l'étend sur des ficelles, y place le lapin, l'enroule dans l'herbe, le lie et l'emporte. Chemin faisant, il rencontre des femmes qui arrachaient des arachides. Il s'approche et dit : "Bonjour. Je viens acheter.—Et que veux-tu acheter ?—Des arachides pour de la viande.—Montre-nous ta viande ?—Non, laissez-la comme cela, empaquetée ; c'est un pombo² que j'ai tué hier." Les femmes lui donnent un grand panier d'arachides,³ qu'il se hâte d'emporter. Puis l'une d'elles appelle sa fille : "Ma fille, dit-elle, prends ce paquet de viande, va au village l'étendre sur la claie au-dessus du feu, puis fais de la bouillie et cuis une poule à ton oncle.—C'est bien," dit la fille. Et d'aller.

En chemin, le lapin lui dit : "As-tu compris ce que t'a dit ta mère ?" La fille, effrayée, s'écrie : "Qui est là-dedans ?—Mais

¹ *Note by Editor.* "Lapin" must here be taken to mean not Rabbit, but Hare. There is no true rabbit in Tropical Africa, but the hare (of many species) is the Negro's type of cunning, equivalent to our fox. "Renard" likewise is not fox but jackal in all these Negro beast stories.

² *Pombo*, sorte d'antilope, appelée *kliipspringer*

³ Ground-nuts.—*Ed.*

c'est moi, ton oncle, dit le lapin.—Ah ! ma mère m'a dit : Prends ce paquet de viande, va au village, l'étendre sur la claie au-dessus du feu, puis fais de la bouillie à ton oncle et cuis-lui une poule.—Imbécile ! dit le lapin, tu n'as rien compris. Ta mère t'a dit : Prends ce paquet ; il y a là-dedans ton oncle, qui vient nous visiter ; va au village, lui faire de la bouillie et lui cuire une poule.—Vraiment ? dit la fille.—Mais oui. Alors il t'est poussé une oreille de chaque côté de la tête pour que tu n'entendes et ne comprennes rien ?”

La fille le croit. Ils arrivent au village. Elle moud de la farine, fait chauffer de l'eau, attrape une poule, la plume, fait la bouillie, cuit la poule et apporte le tout au lapin, qui fait un bon repas. Puis il dit à la fille : “ Apporte-moi cette étoffe, je vais dormir dans la *saka*,¹ en attendant tes parents, puis tu iras chercher du bois.” Or il y avait dans la *saka* une pierre qui servait d'enclume au forgeron du village. Le lapin l'entoure avec l'étoffe et se sauve chez son compagnon, pour manger avec lui les arachides.

Cependant, le soir venu, les femmes reviennent des champs. “ Eh bien ! dit la mère à sa fille, tu as fait ce que je t'ai dit ?—Oui, ma mère, le lapin mon oncle a bien mangé, il est rassasié.—Comment ! le lapin ?—Oui, ne m'as-tu pas dit que le lapin mon oncle était dans le paquet, et qu'il fallait lui-préparer à manger ?—Nous sommes volés ! s'écrie la mère. Et ce lapin, où est-il ?—Là, dans la *saka*, enveloppé dans l'étoffe ; il dort.—Attends, que j'appelle ton père.” Le père vient ; on lui conte l'histoire : “ Ce n'est rien, dit-il, nous mangerons le lapin.” Et il prend sa hache, une belle hache, fraîchement aiguisée. “ Pas de bruit, dit-il.” Et il va vers la *saka*, lève sa hache, et . . . pan ! sur la pierre : la hache vole en éclats. Irrité, il vient battre sa femme qui l'a trompé, dit-il. La femme frappe à son tour son mari et accuse la fille qu'elle traite d'être stupide. Et tous deux battent la fille qui en pleura pendant trois jours.

Cependant, compère lapin et compère renard mangeaient leurs arachides. Quand leur provision fut terminée, le renard dit au lapin : “ Nous avons fait un joli coup ! Vends-moi maintenant.” Le lapin ficelle le renard et l'emporte. Il rencontre

Saka, toit posé sur des piquets, où les hommes se réunissent pour parler et se chauffer ensemble.

d'autres femmes et fait son marché avec elles. Il reçoit deux paniers d'arachides, parce que sa bête paraît assez grande. Une des femmes appelle sa fille et lui dit : " Prends ce paquet de viande et porte-le à la maison, sur la claie au-dessus du feu ; ensuite tu prépareras la bouillie." La jeune fille obéit, et prend le paquet sur la tête. Chemin faisant, le renard se disait : " Me voilà bien ! Mais comment a fait le lapin pour se sauver ? Il faudra bien que, moi aussi, je m'en tire sans me laisser manger."

Arrivée à la maison, la fille dépose son paquet sur la claie, et allume du feu pour cuire sa bouillie. " Oh ! oh ! dit le renard, je vais rôtir." Néanmoins il ne crie pas, bien que la fumée l'incommode beaucoup. Les femmes reviennent bientôt. " Où est la viande ?" dit la mère à sa fille.—Là, sur la claie." La mère défait le paquet : " Mais, dit-elle, c'est un mauvais renard ! Attends, que je le tue." Elle met le renard sous son pied, prend une hache, mais comme elle se détourne pour arrêter des paniers qui roulent près d'elle, le renard parvient à se sauver. Il revient vers son compère. " Lapin, dit-il tout essoufflé, je l'ai échappé belle.—Quoi donc ? dit le lapin." Il lui raconte son aventure ; puis : " Mais comment as-tu fait pour te sauver, ami lapin ?—C'est très simple," dit-il ; et il lui indique son stratagème. " Tu es habile !" dit le renard.—Et toi, dit le lapin, tu n'es qu'un sot. Ne continuons plus ce système, tu nous ferais prendre. Maintenant, il nous faudra voler et renoncer à vivre en gens honnêtes.

Ils allaient donc désormais le soir dans les villages, et, s'ils voyaient une porte mal fermée par en bas, le lapin, plus petit de corps, pénétrait seul dans la maison, volait des arachides et en jetait, par l'entrebaillement de la porte, à son compagnon resté dehors. Un soir, les gens s'aperçoivent de ce manège, mais, sans défiance. " Voilà, disent-ils, un rat bien incommode !" A la fin, ils s'impatientent et appellent un enfant. " Chasse-nous, disent-ils, ce rat qui vient voler les arachides." L'enfant se met en quête, et trouve notre lapin. " Mais c'est un lapin," dit-il. Tous aussitôt de courir pour le tuer, et l'enfant se met à la porte pour lui barrer le passage. Mais le lapin lui saute à la figure, l'égratigne et s'enfuit.

Un autre jour, le lapin et le renard, cherchant fortune, voient

une femelle d'éléphant qui cultivait, avec son petit à côté d'elle. Le lapin dit au renard : " Il faut traire cet éléphant ; elle va nous donner beaucoup de lait.—Oui, dit le renard, elle a de grandes mamelles, mais elles sont trop haut ! Comment y arriver ? Allons-nous lui grimper contre les pattes ?—Laisse-moi faire, dit le lapin, et cache-toi là."

Le lapin va trouver l'éléphant et lui dit : " Mwalimeni, mkwai, travaillez, madame.¹ Comment ! vous travaillez ainsi et êtes encore obligée de veiller sur votre enfant ?—Hélas ! mon ami, dit-elle, je n'en ai pas de plus âgé qui puisse veiller sur lui.²—Mais laissez-le-moi, je vais le garder.—C'est bon, lapin, dit-elle, tu me rendras service." Le lapin emmène donc le petit éléphant vers son compère, et dit : " Renard, tends des cordes à côté de ces trous, puis va me chercher des pots pour traire la mère de cet éléphant.—Je ne vois pas, dit le renard, comment tu vas faire ; j'y vais tout de même." Les pots apportés, le lapin se met à frapper le petit éléphant, qui crie de toutes ses forces. La mère accourt : " Comment, crie-t-elle, c'est ainsi que tu gardes mon fils ? Tu le bats ! attends ! " Mais le lapin se sauve ; l'éléphant le poursuit, s'embarrasse dans les cordes tendues par le renard, et tombe, les pieds de devant dans un trou. Le lapin revient avec le renard, ils traient l'éléphant et remplissent leurs pots. Puis le renard dit : " Mais il y a encore du lait là-dedans. Je vais téter aux mamelles.—Non, dit le lapin, l'éléphant se relèvera, et gare à toi !—Bah ! dit le renard, en attendant, je vais téter.—C'est ton affaire, dit le lapin." Et il emporte les pots. Pendant que le renard tétait, l'éléphant se dégage les pieds et se relève. Le renard se sauve dans son terrier ; l'éléphant le poursuit : " Tu n'en sortiras pas," dit-elle ; et, prenant une petite termitière, elle en bouche l'entrée du terrier.

Cependant le renard qui était au fond de son terrier avec sa femme et ses dix enfants, sentit bientôt la faim le torturer. Il dit à son aîné : " Va voir si l'éléphant est encore là ! " Le

¹ Mwalimeni, mkwai. C'est ainsi qu'on salue un homme qui travaille.

² Les femmes portent leurs enfants attachés sur le dos dans une peau. Quand elles vont travailler aux champs, elles confient le jeune bébé au frère ou à la sœur aînée, qui se charge de veiller sur lui. Si elles n'ont pas d'enfant plus grand, elles déposent le petit à terre, sur la peau.

renardeau s'en va, et ne voyant pas la lumière du jour, s'écrie : "Elle est encore là !" Et il se sauve à toutes jambes. "Que faire ?" dit le renard. "Que deux enfants se battent, le plus faible sera mangé." Ainsi fut fait ; et tous les enfants furent mangés ainsi l'un après l'autre. Enfin le renard reste seul avec son épouse : "Femme, dit-il, battons-nous, et que le plus fort mange l'autre.—Fi ! Fi, dit-elle ; je ne suis qu'une femme, comment pourrai-je lutter contre toi ?—Battons-nous, affaibli par la faim comme je suis, la partie est égale." Ils se battent donc, mais la femelle a le dessous. "Ce n'est pas sérieux, dit-elle, j'ai voulu m'amuser. D'ailleurs, tu as déjà mangé nos dix enfants, vas-tu me manger aussi ? Attendons, peut-être ce maudit éléphant quittera-t-il enfin la place." Ils attendent, et vont, de temps en temps regarder l'entrée du terrier, qui reste obstinément fermée. Enfin le renard dit : "Femme, l'éléphant nous assiège toujours. Battons-nous, et que le plus fort mange l'autre." Mais la femelle a encore le dessous, et le renard la mange, mais lentement, pour économiser les vivres. Quand il eut fini de manger sa femme, le renard, voyant toujours son trou bouché, se dit : "Il faudra que je me mange moi-même, pour ne pas mourir de faim." Et il détache une de ses cuisses, qu'il mange, puis l'autre, puis une épaule, puis l'autre. Comme il ne lui restait plus de mangeable que la queue, il se dit : "Je pourrai bien vivre sans elle." Et il se mit à la ronger lentement.

Pendant ce temps, le lapin, qui avait fini de boire le lait, s'inquiétait de son ami. A la fin, il se dit : "Il faut que j'aille voir ce que fait mon ami le renard. Peut-être cet éléphant l'aura-t-il tué." Il vient donc, frappe à la porte du terrier et crie : "Hodi !" Il entend une voix souterraine et faible qui répond : Karibu ! qui est là ?—C'est moi, dit le lapin.—Ouvre alors, mon ami, et entre." Le lapin gratte, enlève la termitière et pénètre dans le terrier, puis, voyant le renard, ou plutôt ce qui restait de lui, "Mais qu'as-tu fait ? dit-il. Tu t'es mangé ?—Oui, dit le renard. Cet éléphant se tenait toujours à la porte ; alors j'ai mangé mes dix enfants, puis ma femme, enfin j'ai mangé tout ce que je pouvais prendre de ma personne.—Que tu es bête ! dit le lapin.—Ne m'insulte pas, dit le renard. Mais si tu as encore un peu d'affection pour moi, couds une

peau, emporte-moi et nourris-moi." Le lapin va prendre une peau, en fait un sac, y met le renard, le charge sur son dos et sort. "Que vas-tu faire ? dit le renard.—Laisse-moi faire. Tais-toi seulement, car tu es trop bête !" ¹

Ils arrivent dans un village, et le lapin se dirige vers la *saka*, où étaient réunis les hommes. "Bonjour, lapin, disent-ils.—Bonjour !—Et où vas-tu ?—Je me suis fait chanteur du chef, et je vais chanter chez lui." On lui fait cuire de la nourriture, et on l'apporte à la *saka*. Tout en mangeant, le lapin faisait des boulettes et les jetait dans son sac, par dessous l'aisselle, pour faire manger le renard. "Que fais-tu, lapin ? dirent les hommes.—Rien ; je mets du *buali* ² en réserve pour demain, car je coucherai dehors." Cependant le renard passe l'extrémité de son museau à l'orifice du sac et dit tout bas : "Lapin, jette un peu plus de *buali*, et aussi un peu de *munani*." Le lapin lui tape sur le museau avec le coude, et dit : "Cache ton nez, et tais-toi, tu vas me trahir.—Tiens, disent les hommes, qu'est-ce qui parle dans ton sac ?—Ce n'est rien, dit-il, il n'y a rien : je parle à mon sac." Et, du coude, il le repousse sur le dos, pour que personne n'y regarde. Les hommes s'en vont enfin, et le lapin, prenant ce qui restait de *buali*, va dans la maison des hôtes, jette par terre *buali* et renard en disant : "Mange, maintenant, imbécile.—Lapin, dit le renard, tu m'as laissé mourir de faim.—Et toi, tu ferais mieux de te taire et de rester tranquille, au lieu de sortir toujours le bout de ton nez. Tu vas me trahir, si tu continues."

Le lendemain matin, on servit encore à manger dans la *saka*. Et tout en mangeant, le lapin jetait, par dessous son aisselle, un peu de pînce au renard. Et le renard de se plaindre ; et le lapin de frapper du coude sur le museau. "Mais, lapin, disent les hommes, qu'est-ce qui parle dans ton sac ?—Rien, dit le lapin ; je me dis à moi-même que ce sac m'ennuie, parce qu'il me descend toujours sur les cuisses.—Oh ! non. Il y a dans ton sac quelque chose qui parle. Voyons, verse-le par terre.—

¹ Hodi ! Avant d'entrer dans une maison, on crie toujours : Hodi ! ce qui est une façon de s'annoncer pour une visite. Le propriétaire de la maison répond : Karibu !

² *Buali*. Les Babemba appellent *buali* une bouillie épaisse faite avec de la farine. Ils en font des boulettes, qu'ils appellent *lulosi*, font un trou dedans, et s'en servent pour puiser la sauce qui se trouve dans un pot, ou le *munani*, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui se mange avec le *buali*. Ce dernier est apporté dans une corbeille.

Tenez, versez-le vous-mêmes.” Ils jettent le renard sur le sol : “ Oh ! disent-ils, c’est un vilain renard, et sans pattes ni queue. Tuons-le.—Tuez-le, dit le lapin, il m’ennuie beaucoup trop. Je ne veux plus le traîner sur mon dos.” Et les hommes, prenant des bâtons, tuent le pauvre renard.

La fable est finie.¹

LE LAPIN, L’ÉLÉPHANT, ET L’HIPPOPOTAME.

Le lapin se promenait un jour avec une longue corde. Il rencontre un éléphant : “ Tirons-nous l’un l’autre, dit-il, pour voir qui de nous deux est le plus fort.—Tu te moques, lapin, dit l’éléphant. Toi qui n’es pas plus gros qu’une de mes dents molaires, je te tirerai avec ma trompe et te jetterai en l’air.—Peut-être non ; laissez-moi toujours vous passer la corde au cou, et j’irai du côté de cette rivière ; je parie que vous ne pourrez pas me tirer jusqu’à vous.” L’éléphant se laisse faire, et le lapin lui passe au cou la corde, qu’il déroule en se dirigeant vers la rivière. Là, il trouve un bel hippopotame. “ Parions, lui dit-il, que si je vous attache au bout de cette corde et que j’aille vers la colline, vous ne me tirerez pas à la rivière.—Lapin, tu te moques de moi. Je fais sauter une barque d’un coup de tête, es-tu plus fort que moi ?—Je ne sais pas. Voulez-vous que j’attache ?—Attache donc, tu vas voir.” Le lapin attache l’hippopotame et court sur la colline au milieu de la corde, se cacher dans de jeunes pousses d’arbre. Les deux monstres commencent à tirer de toutes leurs forces, chacun de son côté. C’est en vain. De guerre lasse, ils viennent l’un vers l’autre et se rejoignent près de l’endroit où était tapi maître lapin. “ Quoi donc ! dit l’éléphant c’est toi, hippopotame, que je tire ?—Eh quoi ! dit l’hippopotame, c’est toi, éléphant, que je tire ? Je croyais que c’était le lapin.—Moi aussi, dit l’éléphant, car il a parié que je ne le tirerais pas de ce côté.—Il m’a dit la même chose ! Donc, il nous a trompés.—Cherchons-le, et tuons-le.” Ils trouvent le lapin tout près, le ficellent, l’emportent et le suspendent à un arbre, puis vont chercher du bois pour le brûler. Pendant ce temps, une hyène passe par là : “ Que fais-tu là, lapin ?—Hélas ! dit-il, l’éléphant

¹ *La fable est finie* : Kashimi Kapera ! C’est ainsi que se terminent toutes les fables.

et l'hippopotame m'ont attaché ici et veulent me faire manger des os. Cela m'ennuie fort, car je n'ai pas de dents pour croquer des os.—Oh ! mais j'en ai, moi, des dents, dit la hyène. Je vais prendre ta place.—C'est cela, dit le lapin, détache-moi." D'un coup de dent la hyène détache le lapin qui se sauve. En revenant, l'éléphant et l'hippopotame trouvent la hyène en place du lapin. "Que fais-tu là ? disent-ils.—Le lapin m'a dit que vous vouliez lui faire manger des os ; et comme il n'a pas de dents pour cela, et que j'en ai, apportez-moi vos os.—Les voilà !" disent-ils. Et ce disant, ils jettent sur elle tout leur bois, dont ils l'assomment. "Ah ! disent-ils, tu veux manger des os à la place du lapin. Eh ! bien, maintenant, brûle à sa place." Ils mettent le feu au bois et la hyène est brûlée.

La fable est finie.

LE LAPIN ET LE LION.

Le lapin habitait avec le lion, dans un même village. Le lion lui dit un jour : "Lapin, nous mourons de faim ; nos mères sont avares et nous mesurent la nourriture. Tuons-les, et nous mangerons à notre aise.—Tuons-les," dit le lapin. Ils partent, chacun avec une lance. Le lion arrive chez sa mère et la perce d'un coup de lance. Le lapin, avant d'arriver, enfonce sa lance dans l'écorce d'un teck,¹ dont la sève rougit le fer, puis entre chez sa mère et lui dit : "Mère, le lion et moi sommes convenus de tuer chacun notre mère, mais je ne veux pas te tuer. Emportons tout notre bien, et viens que je te cache dans une grotte que je connais dans la montagne. Tu n'en sortiras pas, de peur que le lion ne te rencontre et ne te tue." Ayant donc caché sa mère, le lapin revient vers le lion, sa lance sur l'épaule. "Eh bien ! lion, dit le lapin, vous avez tué votre mère ?—Oui, lapin, vois ma lance.—Vous l'avez tuée, il y a du sang.—Montre-moi ta lance, lapin, que je voie si tu as, toi aussi, tué ta mère ?—Voilà !—Tu l'as tuée, il y a du sang." La sève du teck le trompait. "Comment ferons-nous maintenant ? ajoute le lion. Nos mères sont mortes, et nous ne savons pas dépiquer le grain.—Je ne sais pas, dit le lapin.—Moi, je vais dans la mon-

¹ African teak tree.—Ed.

tagne, manger des fruits, dit le lion.—Et moi, dit le lapin, je n'ai plus qu'à mourir de faim, car je ne mange pas de fruits."

Ils partent, et le lapin revient vers sa mère qui lui fait du *buali* (bouillie). Après avoir mangé, il ronge des charbons et revient vers le lion. "Qu'avez-vous mangé, seigneur lion ? dit-il.—J'ai cherché des fruits, et j'ai trouvé un *pombo* (klipspringer) et je l'ai mangé. Et toi, lapin, qu'as-tu mangé ?—Moi, pauvre diable, j'ai mangé des charbons.—Ce n'est pas vrai ! Vomis, que je voie si tu ne mens pas." Le lapin vomit les charbons qu'il avait rongés après avoir mangé le *buali*. "Mais ce n'est pas de la nourriture, cela. Enterre-moi ça vite, qu'on ne le voie pas.—Mais vous, lion, vomissez aussi !" Le lion vomit les pattes du *pombo*. "Oh ! dit le lapin, laissez-moi donc ronger cela ?—Ah ! non, dit le lion, je vais les avaler de nouveau." Ils firent ainsi pendant quelques jours, le lion mangeant des bêtes, et le lapin, du *buali* chez sa mère, puis, par dessus, des charbons.

A la fin, le lion, s'étonnant de voir le lapin toujours aussi gras et le ventre rond, se dit : "Les charbons, ça ne nourrit pas ; il faut que je suive le lapin et que je voie ce qu'il mange. Il a dû me tromper." Et quand le lapin alla chez sa mère pour manger, le lion le suivit de loin et se tint à l'écart sur une colline voisine, pour l'observer. Il le vit entrer dans une grotte, puis en ressortir avec du *buali*, le manger, puis grignoter des charbons. "Ah ! se dit le lion, le lapin n'a pas tué sa mère, il m'a trompé." Cependant le lapin, ayant fini son repas, recommande encore à sa mère de tenir la porte soigneusement fermée, et repart tranquillement. Le lion vient alors à la grotte et frappe : "Ouvrez, ma mère, dit-il d'une voix mielleuse.—Quoi donc ! dit la lapine, tu viens de manger et tu as encore faim !—Ouvrez, ma mère," vous dis-je. La lapine ouvre et, se trouvant en face du lion, recule épouvantée jusqu'au fond de la grotte. Mais le lion la suit : "C'est toi, lui dit-il, qui es la mère du lapin ?—Oui ! dit-elle, c'est moi.—Ah ! c'est bon. Sache donc que le lapin et moi nous nous étions promis de tuer chacun notre mère. Moi, j'ai tué la mienne, mais lui m'a trompé. Je vais donc te tuer et te manger. Mais auparavant rassemble-moi tout ce que tu as de nourriture, que je l'emporte." La lapine rassemble tout, puis le lion la tue et la mange. Prenant ensuite les paniers, il sort. Chemin faisant, il aperçoit le lapin. "Ami lapin, lui crie-t-il,

viens m'aider, je suis chargé de butin.—Et où l'as-tu pris ?— Dans une grotte de la montagne, j'ai tout pris." Le lapin s'approche, reconnaît les paniers de sa mère. Néanmoins il aide le lion, puis il le quitte en pleurant : "Le lion a tué ma mère, dit-il, je me sépare de lui."

La fable est finie.

LE LAPIN ET LES DEUX LIONS.

Deux lions faisaient la terreur d'un village. Ils avaient déjà mangé plusieurs personnes, et les survivants n'osaient plus sortir. Le lapin passe par là, et voyant leurs mines tristes : "Qu'avez-vous ?" leur dit-il.—Deux lions nous assiègent ; ils ont déjà mangé plusieurs femmes.—Mais il faut les tuer, dit le lapin.—Et qui osera le faire ? répondent les pauvres gens.—Comment ! vous n'avez pas le courage ? Je vais vous les attraper." Et il part. Il trouve les deux lions assis à l'ombre, occupés à digérer la dernière femme qu'ils avaient mangée. "Bonjour, seigneurs lions, dit-il.—Bonjour, lapin.—Je viens faire un pari avec vous.—Et lequel ?—Je parie que vous ne pourrez pas me porter.—Tu te moques, lapin ?—Non, essayez ; allez chercher des cordes et un bâton, et à tous les deux vous ne me soulèverez pas." Ils partent et reviennent avec des cordes et un bâton. "Ce bâton, dit le lapin, n'est pas assez fort, il faut aller en chercher un autre." Ils reviennent avec un plus fort bâton, attachent le lapin au milieu, les pattes tournées vers la terre, et se placent un à chaque bout pour le soulever. Vains efforts ; le lapin se cramponne à l'herbe de toutes ses forces et s'y tient solidement. "Vous voyez, dit-il, que je suis lourd. A mon tour maintenant, je vais vous soulever tous les deux." Les lions le détachent, et lui en lie un à chaque bout de la perche, puis, se plaçant au milieu, les enlève sur son épaule. Et les lions de s'étonner : "Comment ! lapin ; tu n'es pas gros comme une citrouille et tu nous portes tous les deux !" Mais le lapin les laisse dire et se dirige vers le village. "Lapin, disent les lions, tu es vraiment très fort. Tu as gagné ton pari. Dépose-nous.—Nullement, je ne suis pas fatigué." En approchant du village : "Lapin, répètent-ils, détache-nous, que nous partions.—Non, non, je ne veux pas que messeigneurs marchent

à pied dans le village.” Il arrive sur la grande place, s’arrête au milieu, jette rudement les lions par terre et appelle les gens. Ceux-ci, avec des lances et des haches, tuent les lions et comblent lapin d’honneurs.

LE LAPIN ET LES CHASSEURS D’ÉLÉPHANTS.

Pressés par la faim, des hommes étaient allés chasser l’éléphant. Ces hommes avaient de longues chevelures. Ayant tué et dépecé une bête, ils étaient repartis à la chasse, en laissant un des leurs pour garder la viande et leur préparer à manger. Le lapin passe par là, et voyant ce tas de viande, se promet de faire bonne chère. Il s’approche du cuisinier, le salue, et dit : “ La belle chevelure que vous avez, monsieur ! Que vous seriez beau si vous la tressiez ! Voulez-vous que je vous tresse des nattes ?— Je veux bien, dit l’homme.—Approchez-vous donc de cet arbre et asseyez-vous contre le tronc.” L’homme s’asseyait contre l’arbre, et le lapin, passant derrière, lui saisit ses longs cheveux, et les noue fortement à l’arbre. Levez la tête, dit il, que je tresse bien.—Mais je vais m’endormir ainsi.—Ce n’est rien, dormez si vous voulez, ce sera mieux pour moi.” Quand il a bien attaché son homme, le lapin s’en vient manger autant de viande qu’il peut, puis, prenant le pot où elle cuisait, il verse toute la sauce sur la tête de l’homme attaché et se sauve. Les chasseurs, en rentrant, le soir, voient ce spectacle, détachent leur compagnon et se font raconter l’aventure. “ Maudit lapin ! s’écrient-ils, si on t’attrape. . . ” Mais lui, qui était caché tout près, dit tout bas : “ Mes amis, vous ne me tenez pas encore.”

Le lendemain, les chasseurs repartent à la chasse et laissent encore un des leurs pour faire la cuisine, mais pas celui de la veille. Le lapin revient, le salue : “ Oh ! Monsieur, que des tresses feraient bien sur votre tête !—Viens me les tresser, dit l’homme.—Asseyez-vous contre cet arbre.” L’homme s’asseyait, et le lapin lui attache fortement les cheveux derrière l’arbre comme la veille, mange la viande, arrose la tête du cuisinier avec la sauce et décampe. Les chasseurs rentrent : même histoire que la veille : “ Ce lapin, disent-ils, il faut le tuer.”

Le lendemain, ils mettent de la viande sur le feu, et ne laissent

pas de cuisinier. Mais ils placent devant le feu un morceau de bois creusé en rigole et percé d'un trou en son milieu et sous le bois, une tortue. Le lapin revient, et ne voyant personne s'installe joyeux devant le feu, sur ledit bois qui cachait traîtreusement la tortue : "Aujourd'hui, se [dit-il, je vais manger à l'aise." Mais la tortue le sent, passe la tête par le trou du bois et mord maître lapin à l'endroit qu'on pose sur les sièges. Se sentant piqué, celui-ci essaie de se lever ; la tortue serre plus fort et se cramponne à la terre : "Maudit bois, dit le lapin, vas-tu me lâcher ?" Et il fait des efforts inouïs. Peine inutile : le bois reste collé à la terre et à . . . son fondement. Sur ce, les chasseurs arrivent, et pleins de joie : "Attends, lapin, nous te tenons ! Tu vas nous payer tes farces.—Vous ne me tuerez pas avec vos lances, dit le lapin, c'est impossible. Mais si vous voulez vous débarrasser de moi, jetez-moi dans la rivière, là où il y a de grosses pierres lisses." Ils le prennent donc et vont le jeter à la rivière. Mais lui, habile, évite les pierres, nage sous l'eau, et va sortir de l'autre côté. Là, se tournant vers les chasseurs, il leur fait sa révérence et dit : "Je vous avais bien dit que vous ne pourriez pas me tuer. Adieu !"

CROYANCES SUPERSTITIEUSES CHEZ LES BABEMBA

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I. LE SYSTÈME RELIGIEUX.

Il est difficile de bien comprendre certaines coutumes superstitieuses des Babemba, si on n'a pas une certaine connaissance de leur système religieux, car la superstition n'est, en somme, qu'une déviation du sentiment religieux.

1. *Dieu.* Les Babemba reconnaissent un Dieu unique, qui a créé toutes choses : ils l'appellent *Lesa*. Il a créé l'univers, mais son action ne se fait pas sentir sur les créatures : il ne semble pas s'en occuper, et laisse tous les êtres à la merci d'une foule d'esprits répandus dans l'air et en tous lieux, qui font tout à leur gré. C'est pourquoi les Babemba n'ont pas de sacrifices en l'honneur de ce Dieu unique, car il ne fait rien, ni bien ni mal ; il existe, voilà tout.

2. *Les esprits ou mipashi.* Toutes les pratiques du culte sont donc pour les esprits, qu'ils appellent *mipashi*, au singulier : *mupashi*. Que sont au juste ces *mipashi* ? J'ai dit plus haut que, dans leur système religieux, les Babemba mettent Dieu de côté. Ce sont les chefs qui, extérieurement, sont maîtres de tout, des biens de la terre, comme de la vie et des biens de leurs sujets. Ils sont censés ne pas mourir, et leurs tombeaux sont entretenus avec soin et confiés à des hommes spécialement députés à cet effet. Même après leur mort, on continue à se réunir à leur tombe ou à leur cénotaphe : on les salue, on leur offre des cadeaux et on leur demande des faveurs, tout comme s'ils étaient vivants. Leur âme est appelée *mupashi*, et c'est elle qui reçoit les honneurs. Donc, en principe, les *mipashi* sont les âmes des chefs morts ; mais en général, toutes les âmes des

morts sont *mipashi*. Et, comme le chef, de son vivant, était maître de tout, pouvait donner des biens ou les enlever à son gré, tuer même ses sujets, il s'ensuit que son esprit, qui ne meurt pas, a la même puissance. Les Babemba croient donc que tout ce qui leur arrive d'heureux ou de malheureux leur vient des *mipashi*, aussi leur font-ils des sacrifices pour obtenir le bonheur et pour écarter le malheur. Peu à peu, les *mipashi* ont été appelés *dieux* : *Milungu*.

Les enfants reçoivent, à leur naissance, le nom d'une personne morte, dont l'esprit lui servira de *mupashi*, ou de génie protecteur. S'il lui arrive un bonheur, on dira que son *mupashi* l'aime, s'il lui arrive malheur, que son *mupashi* ne l'aime pas. Chaque village a aussi son *mupashi*, auquel on élève une petite cabane. On lui fait des prières publiques à certaines époques déterminées.

1. A l'époque des semailles, le chef envoie son prêtre avec des semences de toute espèce au petit temple des *mipashi* pour demander une bonne récolte.

2. Vers le mois de janvier ou de février, quand les citrouilles sont mûres, on offre les prémices, qui consistent en citrouilles, farine et perles.

3. A la moisson, c'est-à-dire au mois de mai, on fait du *bwa lwa*, et après qu'on a bu, on verse la lie dans le temple des *mipashi*.

Il y a encore beaucoup de circonstances où la prière est de rigueur. Ainsi quand les Babemba vont chasser le *pombo* (klipspringer) au filet, ils immolent une poule aux *mipashi*, afin qu'il leur donne une bête. De même s'ils vont pêcher, ils offrent des perles ou de la farine au génie de la rivière pour obtenir du poisson.

II. CROYANCES SUPERSTITIEUSES AU SUJET DES DIVERS ACCIDENTS DE LA VIE ; EN PARTICULIER AU SUJET DE LA MALADIE ET DE LA MORT.

Tous les accidents de la vie, heureux ou malheureux, sont l'œuvre des *mipashi*. C'est pourquoi, lorsqu'on veut faire un souhait heureux à quelqu'un, le bénir, on l'amène à ses parents ou au chef, qui lui crache dessus en priant les *mipashi*. Cracher

sur quelqu'un est la façon de bénir, d'implorer la protection du ciel. De même pour appeler le malheur sur quelqu'un, on fait des sacrifices, et, en général, on met des mixtures ensorcelées dans des cornes en proférant des imprécations et en faisant des promesses aux *mipashi*.

Il est une croyance commune à tous les peuples païens, c'est que la maladie et la mort ne sont pas naturelles. Il semble que c'est un souvenir des félicités du paradis terrestre, et de l'état de l'homme avant son péché. La maladie et la mort viennent des mauvais génies (*fibanda*, démons) qu'une personne ennemie a tournés contre la personne malade ou la personne morte. On peut y voir un souvenir de cette parole de la Sainte Ecriture : " Dieu a fait les hommes pour qu'ils soient, mais par la jalousie du diable la mort est entrée dans le monde." Donc, si une personne est malade ou vient à mourir, c'est qu'elle a été victime d'un maléfice, et il faut rechercher le sorcier (*muloshi*) qui a fait le maléfice (*bwanga*).

III. LES ENVOÛTEMENTS, MALÉFICES.

Je ne sais si les Babemba pratiquent l'envoûtement proprement dit, mais ils ont une foule de maléfices, qu'il est très difficile de connaître. Si on les interroge, ils se demandent pourquoi on veut savoir tout cela et disent : " Je ne sais pas. Je ne suis pas sorcier." Les sorciers cachent les secrets de leur métier. Voici du moins ce qu'il a été possible de saisir jusqu'ici.

Quand un homme veut nuire à son prochain ou qu'il veut se venger de lui, il fait composer par le sorcier un remède (*muti*), qu'il fait enfermer dans une corne, et il va déposer cette corne remplie de remède soit dans la maison de celui à qu'il veut nuire, soit à sa porte, soit dans ses champs. En même temps il fait une imprécation aux *mipashi* et leur promet une offrande s'il est exaucé.

Il y a de ces maléfices qui sont, paraît-il, terribles. Ceux surtout qui sont dans des cornes de *pelembe* sont très forts. Mais on en fait aussi pour s'attirer du bien. Ainsi il y a deux ans, j'ai vu, chez Masongo, des cornes de *pelembe* remplies de remède et plantées dans tous les chemins qui aboutissaient au village.

On m'a dit qu'on les avait mises là pour que les *mipashi* amènent beaucoup de monde.

Les Babemba mettent aussi des sortilèges dans leurs cultures pour effrayer les voleurs. Ces sortilèges sont dans de petits pots ou dans de petites courges (*misashi*).


Ils en ont aussi dans les maisons ; ces remèdes sont assez souvent enfermés dans de petites courges enduites d'huile, quelquefois dans des cornes, et entourés de perles, qui sont une offrande aux *mipashi*. C'est pour avoir des enfants.

IV. LES ÉPREUVES DU POISON ET DIVERSES MANIÈRES DE DÉCOUVRIR UN COUPABLE.

1. Le poison ou *mwafi*. Il est admis par tout le monde que la maladie et la mort ne peuvent venir naturellement, mais sont toujours causées par quelque maléfice. Donc, lorsqu'une personne est malade ou qu'elle vient à mourir, il faut se venger sur l'auteur du maléfice. Dans ces cas-là, ou bien on soupçonne quelqu'un, ou bien on ne soupçonne personne.

Si on soupçonne quelqu'un, on amène devant le chef la personne soupçonnée coupable, et on formule l'accusation. Naturellement celui qui est ainsi accusé proteste de son innocence. Le chef a recours alors à l'épreuve du poison. Il appelle son sorcier en chef, qui apporte le *mwafi* dont il connaît seul la composition, et qui est très fort. Il donne une dose à la personne qu'on accuse, et, si elle vomit le poison, elle est reconnue coupable et condamnée.

Très souvent, le *mwafi* est donnée à plusieurs à la fois, à l'accusateur et à l'accusé, et celui qui vomit est reconnu avoir dit la vérité. C'est un vrai poison qu'on administre. Comment se fait-il que quelques-uns en meurent et que d'autres le rejettent ? C'est très simple. Il suffit de prendre un contre-poison à l'avance, ou de faire un cadeau au sorcier, qui donne un vomitif au lieu de poison.

2. Le *kalubi*. Le *kalubi* est une petite citrouille ayant cette forme :  Elle est ornée d'étoffes de diverses couleurs et décorée de perles. On dit qu'elle est habitée par un esprit qui s'appelle *kalubi*. Quand on a subi un dommage et qu'on en ignore l'auteur,

on va chez le possesseur du *kalubi* pour qu'il interroge son esprit. Mais il ne travaille pas, s'il n'a pas de cadeau. Quand il a reçu son cadeau, il s'assoit, pose son *kalubi* devant lui, tout près, en approche la bouche et dit : "*kalubi*, es-tu là ?" Si le cadeau est assez fort, il fait entendre un petit cri, qui paraît sortir de la petite citrouille : il signifie que l'esprit est présent. L'interrogateur dit alors son *milandu* et ajoute : "Celui qui m'a fait ce mal, où est-il ? Habite-t-il dans tel quartier ?" La demande est transmise à l'esprit par le sorcier, et si l'esprit répond, c'est qu'on a désigné le quartier du village où est le coupable. Si l'esprit se tait, c'est qu'on s'est trompé, et il faut nommer un autre quartier. Quand on a trouvé le quartier, on cherche la maison, puis un des habitants. Lorsque l'esprit a désigné le coupable, on lui fait donner le *mwafi*.

Il est évident que le sorcier désigne toujours une personne qu'il n'aime pas. Il est très habile pour pousser son petit cri qui semble sortir de la citrouille, aussi les noirs croient vraiment que c'est un esprit qui parle.

Au commencement du poste de *kilubula*. Monseigneur Dupont entendait souvent parler de *kalubi* parlant. Il crût que c'était une statue diabolique, et en parla à ses confrères. On décida de voir ce que c'était ; d'autant plus que ce *kalubi* ne disait que du bien des Pères. Donc on appelle un possesseur de *kalubi*, et on lui demande de venir le faire parler devant les missionnaires. Quelques perles le décident vite, mais il ne veut venir que la nuit. Le soir, tous les Pères se réunissent dans la chambre de Monseigneur, et on introduit l'homme au *kalubi*. On lui pose des questions, et il répond, mais si habilement, que Monseigneur Dupont disait : "Mais il y a quelque chose qui crie dans cette citrouille !" Cependant un Père qui se tenait avec la bougie près de l'homme au *kalubi* avait remarqué un petit mouvement des lèvres quand la citrouille parlait. Il dit à l'homme : "Passe-moi ton *kalubi*, pour voir s'il va me répondre." L'homme y consent, et le Père imite parfaitement le sorcier, qui se trouva très embarrassé et confus. Il emporta sa citrouille et disparut.

C'est une grosse supercherie.

3. Le *lubuko*. Le verbe *kúbuka* signifie : consulter les esprits. Le *lubuko* est donc l'action de consulter les esprits pour dé-

couvrir un coupable. Il y a trois manières de faire l'opération. Je vais les décrire toutes les trois, en supposant que celui qui consulte se plaint qu'on lui a volé une pioche.

1^{re} manière. L'opérateur prend un fer de hache et place devant lui un billot de bois bien poli ou une pierre bien lisse : il crache par terre et sur la hache et se touche le front, la poitrine et les reins avec la hache. L'interrogateur lui pose des questions, comme pour le *kalubi*, et l'opérateur frotte la hache sur le bois ou la pierre. Quand l'interrogateur a nommé le coupable, l'opérateur fait des efforts inouïs pour remuer la hache, elle ne bouge pas et reste comme collée à la pierre ou au bois. Cela signifie que l'esprit invoqué est entré dans la hache et l'empêche de remuer quand on prononce le nom du coupable qu'on cherche.

2^e manière. L'opérateur prend un noyau de fruit, qu'il pose par terre, devant lui, puis un petit pot de terre qu'il renverse sur le noyau, et imprime au petit pot un mouvement gyroïde, de façon que le noyau vienne frapper les bords du vase. L'interrogateur pose alors les questions : "Le voleur de ma pioche est-il dans le quartier est ?" Si le noyau frappe les bords du pot, on a interrogé à faux. "Est-il dans le quartier ouest ?" L'opérateur tourne son pot, et si le noyau ne frappe pas les bords du pot, le voleur se trouve dans le quartier nommé. Il reste à trouver la maison du voleur et la personne elle-même qui a volé. Cela se fait de la même manière. Evidemment, il suffit de tourner le pot plus ou moins fort pour que le noyau le frappe ou ne le frappe pas ; c'est un simple coup de main à attraper. Si le noyau frappe le pot, c'est que l'esprit répond *non* à la question posée. S'il ne frappe pas, c'est que l'esprit, qui est dans le noyau, se tait et dit *oui*, d'après la maxime : "qui ne dit rien approuve."

3^e manière. L'opérateur prend un petit panier ou un sachet où sont conservés de petits os d'antilope. Il les répand devant lui et les dispose deux par deux. On pose la question, comme plus haut, et l'opérateur ramasse ses os et les mêle, puis essaie de les mettre deux par deux. S'il réussit, on a interrogé à faux. S'il ne réussit pas, et qu'à la fin en reste un tout seul, on a deviné le voleur, car son esprit, qui était dans l'os, s'est caché. C'est de la prestidigitation : l'opérateur n'a qu'à cacher un os, et il réussit.

Voici maintenant la contre-partie. Une personne qui a commis une faute a un moyen pour ne pas être découverte. Elle trempe des feuilles de digitale dans l'eau et s'en frotte la tête : son esprit ou *mupashi* ne la trahira pas.

V. AUGURES, BONNS ET MAUVAIS.

Entendre à sa droite, en voyage, le cri de certains oiseaux, est de bon augure ; les entendre à sa gauche, est de mauvais augure.

Celui qui, en marchant, frotte successivement sur le sol et par hasard les deux pouces de ses pieds sans se blesser, mangera bien là où il va. C'est le contraire s'il se blesse les orteils.

Celui qui sent, en voyage, de petites contractions dans la paupière supérieure, trouvera beaucoup à manger à l'étape.

Mais s'il éprouve ces contractions à la paupière inférieure, il n'aura rien à manger.

De même éprouver des tiraillements dans le ventre est un signe qu'on aura beaucoup à manger, Ne pas en éprouver est signe qu'on se serrera la ceinture.

Qui voit l'oiseau nommé *lubumbwalumbwa* se poser en avant de soi, doit en tirer un bon augure. C'est le contraire si l'oiseau va se poser en arrière.

Si, en jetant une pierre ou en faisant quelque bruit, on fait lever une antilope (*pombo*) et qu'elle aille devant soi ou traverse le chemin de gauche à droite, c'est de bon augure.

Mais si l'antilope traverse le chemin de droite à gauche, c'est un mauvais augure ; et si elle se sauve en arrière du voyageur, il faut absolument rebrousser chemin, on est dans une mauvaise voie.

Si on rencontre un lion couché dans le sentier, et que, se levant, il s'en aille tranquillement ; ou si on le voit loin de la route, c'est de bon augure.

Mais s'il se lève et rugit, il faut promptement retourner sur ses pas, car on trouverait la mort en chemin.

Qui rencontre un serpent couché le long du sentier sera bien reçu là où il va : si le serpent est couché en travers du sentier, c'est signe de mort.

Rencontrer, en arrivant près d'un village, une file de jeunes filles, est de bon augure : rencontrer des femmes enceintes est de mauvais augure.

Une chouette qui vient se poser la nuit sur un toit et crier, est un mauvais augure.

Un hibou qui vient plusieurs nuits de suite se poser dans un village et y faire entendre son cri, est de mauvais augure : il faut ✓
changer le village de place.

Si la foudre tombe dans un village et tue un homme, c'est que les dieux sont irrités, et il faut changer le village de place.

Celui qui, faisant chauffer de l'eau, voit son vase se briser sans cause apparente, doit s'attendre à un malheur.

Il y a encore probablement beaucoup d'autres augures, mais c'est difficile à trouver, les gens les disent difficilement.

VI. SUPERSTITIONS DIVERSES.

1. A propos du lion.

Si un homme tue un lion, c'est très grave. Il faut que tout de suite il aille trouver un sorcier qui lui administrera un remède pour le préserver de la folie. S'il ne fait pas cela, il deviendra fou, et parcourra le pays en hurlant comme une bête fauve, et sans pouvoir demeurer dans une maison.

De même un homme qui touche un lion ou qui en a mangé deviendra fou assurément.

2. Les *bakisanguka* (ceux qui sont changés en lion).

Il paraît que les Babisa du lac et les Bênamuanga ont des remèdes de sorcier très curieux. Ils en mettent dans la nourriture des étrangers auxquels ils veulent nuire, et aussitôt que ces étrangers ont mangé, ils partent en hurlant et vont se cacher sur les termitières, comme les lions. Il leur pousse une queue, dit-on, mais on ne la voit pas ; ils ont des griffes pour déchirer la viande, qu'ils mangent toute crue, et se conduisent, quand ils veulent, comme des lions. Ils volent des bêtes, des étoffes, enfin tout ce qui tombe sous leurs griffes ; pendant la nuit, ils rôdent autour des villages comme des lions. Pendant le jour, ils sont comme les autres hommes.

Il y a aussi un remède pour ne pas avoir peur des lions et n'être pas mangé par eux. Je l'ai vu à kaambi. Le sorcier fait des incisions autour des reins et aux parties secrètes de l'homme, et verse du remède dans ces incisions. C'est très douloureux ; mais quand on s'est soumis à cette opération magique, on n'a plus peur du lion, et on devient terrible à toutes les bêtes.

3. Le Mulungulwa.

Le Mulungulwa est un être très drôle, ayant le corps d'un homme, avec de longs cheveux lisses, et une grande barbe, et des poils sur tout le corps. Il vit seul dans la forêt. Si un homme crie dans la forêt, le mulungulwa lui répond, et s'éloigne : l'homme le suit et est entraîné ainsi très loin ; alors le mulungulwa le prend, l'attache à un arbre, et le nourrit ; il le lâche quand le pauvre homme a, lui aussi longue barbe et longs cheveux.

Quand le mulungulwa veut nuire à quelqu'un, il vient, la nuit, sur le toit de sa maison, urine et s'en va. L'homme mourra. Ou bien il entre dans son ventre et y cause des dérangements et des douleurs insupportables.

4. Le fusil de Mulenga.

Mulenga est un très mauvais diable, excessivement malfaisant, et qui est toujours en voyage pour faire de mauvais coups. Il a un fusil très puissant, qui fait du bruit comme un canon. Quand il tire un coup de fusil, c'est l'annonce de grands malheurs. On raconte qu'il y a une dizaine d'années, on entendit le fusil de Mulenga. Ce coup de fusil terrible fut immédiatement suivi d'une destruction générale de tous les animaux : buffles, *sefu*, *pelembe*, mouraient comme des mouches : on en trouvait partout. Les bœufs, qui étaient très nombreux dans les écuries des chefs, moururent presque tous. Et depuis lors, on ne voit plus dans le pays ni bœufs ni buffles.

Quelque temps après, Mulenga s'amuse encore à tirer de son fameux fusil. Aussitôt une épidémie de petite vérole se déclara dans le Kinga et dévasta tout le pays. Beaucoup de villages furent complètement anéantis, et depuis lors, le Kinga est un pays désert.

Le 8 mai dernier, on a encore entendu, dans la direction sud-ouest, un bruit semblable à un coup de canon. C'était encore, dit-on, le fusil de Mulenga, et il allait arriver des malheurs. Il est probable que c'était un bolide qui éclatait.

5. Le kashiululu, comète ou bolide.

Le kashiululu est une comète ou un bolide. Il annonce toujours la mort de quelque grand chef. Il paraît que la mort de Kilimkulu, il y a six ans, a été précédée de l'apparition d'un bolide très lumineux. De même la mort de Mwamba, il y a quatre ans.

LUD. MOLINIER.

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF SIERRA LEONE

[This paper possesses many points of interest. The African Society disclaims responsibility for any opinions expressed by the contributors to its Journal. It desires to be the medium through which all views on Africa may be expressed.—EDITOR.]

IN the summer of 1894 I made a tour along the West Coast of Africa in one of the comfortable steamers of Messrs. Elder Dempster & Co.

I was deputed by H.I.M. the Sultan of Turkey to visit Lagos as his representative at the dedication of a mosque erected by a wealthy native Muslim in the town of Lagos, at which ceremony H.E. Sir Gilbert Carter, Governor of the Colony, at the earnest solicitation of the Muslim community, presided.

During the journey along the coast, I stopped at the French colony of Senegal, at the British colonies of Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, and at Monrovia, the capital of the Republic of Liberia. At Sierra Leone and Liberia I observed what I did not notice at the Gambia, the Gold Coast or Lagos, and that was the foreign aspect of everything. Sierra Leone and Liberia are alike in origin. They were both settled by descendants of Africans whose ancestors had been carried by the slave trade to America and the West Indies, who had been in exile and trained with ideas foreign to Africa, and both of these colonies were founded, not by the Government of either England or the United States, but by private and philanthropic organisations in both of those countries, namely, the Sierra Leone Company in England, and the American Colonisation Society in America. The two colonies represent the repentance of the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race for the crimes committed against the African continent, in which in the days

of ignorance they had participated. These two settlements are not the result of purely missionary efforts. The foreign customs so alien to Africa observed in them are the result of the influence of the returned exiles who laid the foundation of the religious and social character of the two countries. The missionary without the basis of a large civilised population, could not have brought about the results now witnessed, which so surprise and often repel the foreign observer.

Sierra Leone, to which I propose chiefly to confine my observations, was settled in 1787 under the inspiration of such men as William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp and Zachary Macaulay, names illustrious in the annals of British philanthropy. These men assisted the colonists to organise society, religious, social and political, according to the pattern they had left behind, unmindful of the fact that they were planting exotic seeds in Africa, which not only would not flourish, but would mislead by appearances and eventually divert the people from the fruits natural to the country on which alone they could live and permanently thrive. The Sierra Leone Company allowed the people to have their own way in organising the colony. New protégés, although African in race, kept aloof from the aborigines and ignored native customs to which they were entire strangers.

One of the reasons of the existence of the colony was that it might be a refuge and shelter for slaves escaping from the oppression of their masters in the neighbourhood.

In the year 1807 Mr. Wilberforce, after twenty years of unwearied assiduity, succeeded in carrying his Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, which received the Royal signature in March of that year. In January, 1808, the British Governor took over the colony from the Sierra Leone Company, and made it a *depôt* for the landing of slaves released from captured slave ships. The settlement, it must be borne in mind, was now twenty-one years old, and all its religious, social, and political machinery had been already introduced and established by quasi-foreigners. It might be useful here to call attention to the following extracts from a petition made to the British Government for the dissolution of the Sierra Leone Company, and which was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons

on the 25th day of May, 1802, and which "will serve to show of what benefit the faith of Islam has been in the suppression of superstition and barbarous customs and their replacement by a healthy system of civilisation on the coast in the vicinity of Sierra Leone at this period."¹

The petition ran as follows :—

"A remarkable proof exists in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, of the very great advantages of a permanent, though very imperfect, system of government, and of the abolition of those African laws which make slavery the punishment of almost every offence.

"Not more than seventy years ago, a small number of Muhammadans established themselves in a country about forty miles to the northward of Sierra Leone, called from them the Mandingo Country. As is the practice of the professors of that religion, they formed schools, in which the Arabic language and the doctrines of Muhammad were taught, and the customs of Muhammiadans, particularly that of not selling any of their own religion as slaves, were adopted. Laws founded on the Koran were introduced. Those practices which chiefly contribute to depopulate the coasts were eradicated, and, in spite of many intestine convulsions, a great comparative degree of civilisation, union, and security was introduced. Population, in consequence, rapidly increased, and the whole power of that part of the country in which they are settled has gradually fallen into their hands. Those who have been taught in their schools are succeeding to wealth and power in the neighbouring countries, and carry with them a considerable portion of their religion and laws. Other chiefs are adopting the name assumed by these Muhammadans, on account of the respect which attends it; and the religion of Islam seems likely to diffuse itself peaceably over the whole district in which the colony is situated, carrying with it those advantages which seem ever to have attended its victory over Negro superstition."

This petition shows that it was the opinion of the petitioners that if Sierra Leone had been left to the influence of Islam, there would have been progress on normal lines among the people of the colony. The Report of the Commission of Inquiry

¹ *The Rise of British West Africa*, by Claude George, p. 120.

into the state of the Settlement of Sierra Leone in 1810 gave further evidence as to the beneficial influence of Islam upon the colony and its vicinity. It says :—

“The Muhammadan religion, also, had participated in the suppression of the slave trade.

“About six years before the Sheriff of Mecca had sent a letter to the King of the Fulas for circulation through all the Mandingo tribes, strictly forbidding their selling slaves. The slave trade was declared to be contrary to the teachings of Muhammad, which pronounces the most fearful denunciations of God’s wrath in the world hereafter against those who persist in this traffic with the European nations; and although the publicity of this Bull had been prevented as much as possible, yet it was making its way among such of the adherents of the Muhammadan persuasion as were intelligent enough to make out its purport, and would serve to show the coincidence of opinion as regards the advisability of suppression of the slave trade.”¹

The first slave ship captured under the new law arrived at Sierra Leone in 1810, and landed a number of recaptives, who were apprenticed to the settlers and allowed to follow their own desires as to religious matters without any restraint. Muslims from time to time arrived among them, who were assigned to the north-eastern portion of Freetown, where they organised themselves according to their own system, built mosques and opened schools of their own, securing the services of Mandingoes and Fulas residing in the neighbourhood to teach their children, and matters were proceeding peaceably until the introduction of the foreign missionary, who, in pursuance of his objects, obtained the influence of the Government to force the recaptives into the profession of Christianity: and in 1830 a “form of Indenture for liberated African children” was promulgated, of which the following is a verbatim copy:—

“Form of Indenture for Liberated African Children.

Colony of Sierra Leone.	|	THIS INDENTURE made this	day
of	,	in the year of our Lord, 1830	<i>Between</i> his Excel-
lency Colonel Richard Doherty,		Captain-General and Governor-	

¹ Vide *The Rise of British West Africa*, p. 163.

in-chief of the colony of Sierra Leone and its dependencies on behalf of His Majesty, his heirs and successors, of the one part, and _____ of the other part, witnesseth. That his Excellency as Governor of the said colony, and by virtue of the power and authority vested in him, under legislative enactments and orders in council, hath placed and bound, and doth by these presents place and bind _____, a male emancipated African, now of age of _____ years or thereabouts, as an apprentice to the said _____ with him (after the manner of an apprentice) to dwell, from the day of the date of these presents and unto the full end and term of _____ years, from thence next ensuing, are completed and ended, during which term the said apprentice his said master well and faithfully shall serve in all such lawful business and occupation as he, the said _____, may be commanded to do and perform by his said master, according to his power, wit and ability. And shall honestly, orderly, and obediently in all things behave himself towards his said master, and his household. AND the said _____ for and on his part and behalf doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said Governor and his successors in the said office during the term of the said apprenticeship that he the said _____ shall and will teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, the said _____ in the English language, the principles of the Christian religion, and the trade, business, or occupation, which he the said _____ now follows or pursues, after the best manner in his power or means, and shall cause the said _____ regularly, while in health, to attend Divine worship on Sabbath days and any one Sunday school that may be kept within the town or village where the said _____ may reside, and shall at no time during the term of the said apprenticeship remove the said _____ out of or beyond the colony aforesaid on any pretence whatever, without the written consent of the officer in charge of the Liberated African Department, or of the manager of the district in which the said _____ may reside."

In the case of adult men and women arriving as recaptives, they were forced to adopt the Christian system of marriage.

Dr. Madden says :—"The wholesale celebration of the marriage ceremony, which took place when twenty or thirty couples of these people have been marched in one great group from the liberated African yard to the altar, to be joined in wedlock, with little previous knowledge of each other, or of the nature of the compact into which they were about to enter, was little calculated to prevent the occurrence which the assistant-superintendent states in his replies, that it is a common practice among the newly-married people, after a few weeks had elapsed, coming to the magistrates, and applying to have their marriages cancelled by mutual consent. This profanation of religion is fortunately put an end to, at least with respect to the marriages *en masse* ; but a great deal more care, I think, is still required than is given to the previous preparations of the parties who make application for permission to marry while they are still under our control."

But notwithstanding all this pressure, many of the recaptives, after their term of apprenticeship, connected themselves with the Muslims, so that it was found necessary by the official proselytisers to adopt further measures of repression. The missionary element having now increased in the colony and having acquired considerable influence with the Governor, sent in two petitions to the Government, one signed by the Church of England missionaries and the other by Free Churchmen. It would appear that even in so pious a cause as this these zealous propagators of Christianity could not act unitedly. The petitions are, in the light of the present day, among the most striking curiosities of philanthropic literature. They are too interesting not to be reproduced at length. The Church missionaries said :—

"To his Excellency the Governor and the Honourable the Board of Council the Petition of the Undersigned,

"Humbly Sheweth,

"THAT the agents of the Church Missionary Society in this colony have marked with no ordinary concern the rapid increase of the Muhammadans,¹ and the bold practice of their imposing ceremonies.

¹ Spelt "Mahommedans" in the original.

“That the Muhammadan teachers are going about proselytising in the villages, in consequence of which many liberated Africans have been induced to join their numbers, and some have even sent their children from the villages to town, to have them trained up to this mixed system of heathenish superstition and Muhammadan delusion.

“That the liberated Africans apprenticed to such persons are of course deprived of all Christian instructions, and are frequently made to work on the Lord’s Day, for which the Muhammadans in their houses, and in their town at Fourah Bay especially, manifest not the slightest regard.

“Your Petitioners, therefore, beg leave to express to your Excellency and your Honourable Board their firm conviction that the free and open exercise of Muhammadanism is fraught with danger to the colony, both in a moral and civil point of view, and humbly request that you will be pleased to consider the propriety of checking so injurious a system, and to adopt such measures as will secure to the liberated Africans bound to Muhammadans the privileges of the Lord’s Day, and other means available for their instruction in the Christian religion.

“(Signed) G. A. Kipling.	H. S. Stedman.
J. W. Weeks.	T. Peyton.
J. U. Graf.	Wm. Young.
James Beal.	Isaac Smith.

“13th June, 1839.”

The following is extracted from the petition of the Protestant Free Churchmen.

“SIR,—We, the undersigned preachers and members of the various chapels established in this colony since its first formation, having been requested by your Excellency to give our opinion as to the pernicious effects of the Muhammadan religion, now extensively introduced into this colony by the building of large prayer-houses for that purpose, being allowed to be carried on in the same, we beg to draw your Excellency’s attention to the following remarks, which will fully at once show that such places are only intended for entrapping the ignorant into the grossest superstition imaginable, viz. :—

“*Imprimis.* By the Muhammadan law a man may have one

wife and as many concubines as he may be able to maintain, which we consider to be an evil propagated ; that it is quite contrary and inconsistent to the law of God and the common usage and custom of this colony.

"Secondly. They believe in witchcraft, incantations and charms, and they are hereby subjected to gross impositions by making a trade in selling charms, and using lassy-manny to effect certain changes on the minds of weak and credulous persons, which is done by writing upon a table (commonly in use with them) a certain pernicious ink, which is obtained from the bark of a tree, scraps of Scriptural notes and texts taken from the Al Koran, and then washed off and put into a bottle ; with this, whenever they feel desirous of obtaining some particular wishes, they generally wash themselves with this lassy-manny before they make their suit upon any individual.

"Thirdly. They dedicate the fifth day of the week as their day of public worship, whereas the seventh day is set apart by all Protestants as their Sabbath, which is universally allowed as the established doctrine and rules of every sincere Christian, and are considered as a part and parcel of the ancient laws of Great Britain and of this colony from time immemorial ; and although the Muhammadans make this little difference, yet they should be made to observe the Christian Sabbath with the greatest veneration and respect by observing the same, as have been heretofore done by former ci-devant governors on the first formation of the said colony ; and further, in addition, they would not consent for one moment to allow any of the surrounding neighbouring tribes and others to become permanent inhabitants of this colony, because their manners and customs were quite contrary and repugnant to the established doctrine founded in the same.

"In drawing these conclusions for your Excellency's information and consideration, we sincerely trust and hope that your Excellency will be pleased to give a favourable opinion of our views on this subject by discountenancing the Muhammadan pernicious doctrines being established therein, and which have hitherto gained so much repute amongst the lower orders by leading astray the benighted sons of Africa, who have been lately rescued from the misery of second slavery and now

plunged into human darkness by this grossest of all evils, the Muhammadan persuasion.

"We beg to subscribe ourselves, &c.,

"(Signed) Joseph Jewitt, P. Ch.

A. Elliot.

Thomas Grant.

John Leigh.

William ^{his} X Williams.
_{mark}

Jas. W. Richards.

Scipio Wright.

John Jamy.

Jas. ^{his} X Jackson.
_{mark}

Thomas Freeman.

Jacob Snowball.

A. O'Connor.

David Wilson.

"His Excellency Colonel Richard Doherty, &c."

The striking difference between the statements of these missionaries as exhibited in these petitions as to the influence of Islam and those of the petition for the dissolution of the Sierra Leone Company quoted above are suggestive. When the Company's petition was written there were no missionaries in Sierra Leone and matters were seen in a clear, dry light.

Governor Doherty, emboldened by the statements of the missionaries, which it seems he had himself elicited, under date of December 9th, 1839, addressed a strong letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (then Lord John Russell), of which the first paragraph says :—

"My attention has for some time been directed to the extension which, I regret to inform your Lordship, the Muhammadan faith begins to obtain in the colony among the liberated African population, and to the more open and ostentatious observance of its rites by persons of that class, which has arisen from the increased confidence they have thereby acquired, and which, in its turn, has a strong tendency still further to recommend a worship addressing itself so largely to the senses and imagination among the simple natives before whom it is here displayed."

This remarkable letter, which consists of eight long paragraphs, closes by referring to the destruction of the mosque at Fula Town, which act of vandalism, the Governor innocently adds, occurred "through a mistake of some officers of police."

Although common sense would lead us to believe that such an act of tyranny could not have been carried out without at least the connivance of the authorities under the influence of the persecuting spirit then rife in the colony.

Thus was it sought to suppress a system which is now felt to be of the greatest possible aid to British interests and the general advantage of civilisation in West and Central Africa. A British official, a former resident in Northern Nigeria, writes to the *Journal of the African Society* (April, 1903):—

"It is now almost unanimously agreed by non-missionary observers that Islam is the religion which yields the best results in practice in this part of the world. To say that this is due to its lower ethical standard is surely quite irrelevant. It is not the theoretical, but the practical standard which counts from the point of view of the administration of a province."¹ A little later on in the same article the writer says: "In the face of all the evidence it is difficult to resist the conviction that the person who lends any help to Christianise the African is a wilful evil-doer."²

It should be stated, however, to the credit of the British officers who have administered the Government of Sierra Leone that as far as we are aware Lieutenant Governor Doherty, who was, after all, only a warming-pan, is the only officer who has ever sought to drive the faith of Islam from the colony. All the Governors of recent times, Kennedy, Hennessey, Hay, Fleming, Cardew, and King-Harman, have exercised the greatest tolerance towards the system, encouraging the education of Muslim children. And now His Excellency Sir C. A. King-Harman has established a permanent "Department of Muhammadan Education" to bring the Muslims under the influence of Western learning without interfering with their religion, whose influence it is believed will be far reaching. The Governor has lived in Islamic countries, and is not ignorant of the merits of the system. He is endeavouring to assist the Muslims in his jurisdiction to avoid the mistake, or rather misfortune, of their co-religionists in India, who having for years refused to enter

¹ "The Province of Kabba, Northern Nigeria," by Allen Upward, *Journal of the African Society* (April, 1903), p. 255.

² *Idem*, p. 256.

Government schools where their religion was not taught, deprived themselves of those qualifications which made them eligible for Government positions. The schools recently established at Sierra Leone and Lagos with the cordial approval and liberal encouragement of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, combine the study of Western learning with the teaching and practice of Islam. The difference is great between the times of Lord John Russell and those of Joseph Chamberlain. These are days when we have seen the British public, with the Queen and the present King at their head as Patron and Vice-Patron, supporting in the most liberal manner a movement for the establishment in the heart of Africa of a college exclusively for the education of Muhammadans, and the late Lord Salisbury, writing to Lord Kitchener, said : " This scheme represents *the only policy* by which the civilising mission of this country can effectually be accomplished." The French in colonising West Africa had no philanthropic puzzle on their hands, and were not confronted with the inconvenience of having to begin their rule by submitting to the will and caprice of foreign born and foreign trained Africans professing a religion not congenial to the country. Their enterprise began with the aborigines pure and simple, unspoiled by alien coddling, and they allowed the natives to follow their religious and social customs. From the beginning they fostered the faith of Islam as best adapted to the people, called Senegal *Dar-al-Islam*, and by every means encouraged the religion which has its origin in Arabia. The result is that they have a large, sober, intelligent population, indigenous and patriotic and in sympathy with the rest of their people, able and effective co-workers with the Government in carrying out its civilising purposes, as well as independent workers on their own religious and social lines, in constant intercourse through the Pilgrimage with the cradle of their religion in Arabia, nothing in their lives whether political or religious to disquiet them. On the other hand, at Sierra Leone, still to some extent under the spirit of the past, Muslims suffer from disabilities and proscription. I received a few days ago from Sierra Leone the following petition which has been addressed by the Muslim community to the Governor of the colony. It came as a surprise to me, knowing the practice on the question brought forward in all British colonies in which

Muslims live in large numbers. The following is a copy of the petition :—

“SIERRA LEONE,

“ May 4, 1903.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The Petition of the Undersigned representing the Muhammadan community of the Colony of Sierra Leone, loyal subjects of His Majesty the King and Emperor, respectfully and humbly sheweth:—

“1. That on account of their conformity of the marriage law of their Religion in which they were born and brought up, they are subject to serious inconveniences and losses.

“2. This discrimination against Muhammadans in the civil affairs of the Colony has caused their religion to be held in contempt, and has tended to lower the self-respect of Moslems, while it exposes them to legal disabilities which involve for them, in cases of death of any man or woman among them, whether intestate or not, heavy, and what they consider unjust expenses, besides ignoring the legal rights of those protested, in case of death, by Muhammadan law.

“3. As they do not consider that it is the intention of the British Government or of the British law to oppress any man on account of his religion or deprive him of any civil rights in consequence thereof, they humbly petition your Excellency to consider their grievances and apply whatever remedy it may be in your power, to introduce.

“4. Your Petitioners have been made to understand that in other British colonies where there are large numbers of Muhammadans, in all suits regarding marriage, wills, etc., and other civil rights arising, with respect to Muhammadans, the law of the Koran is invariably adhered to. In India, Muhammadans retain their law of marriage, of testamentary and intestate succession, and of *Wakif* or Wakf, or quasi-religious trusts. In the British African colonies, recognition of native customs is very frequent. Natal has exacted a Native Code of embodying such of the customs in force as could be recognised by a civilised Government. In the Courts of the Colony, native law is administered in native cases. In Lagos, Gambia, and the Gold Coast, there are directions that native laws and customs are to be observed ‘where possible,’ or so far as they

are not repugnant to natural justice. These laws and customs include the Muhammadan law in regions where there is a Muhammadan population. In Sierra Leone alone, the anomaly prevails where a man married according to Muhammadan law is called a Bachelor, and his wife or wives and children ignored. See Ilbert's 'Legislative Methods and Forms,' pp. 168 and 172.

"5. In the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, May 2, a Supreme Court Notice appeared with respect to one Osanue Cole deceased, in which the deceased is described as a Bachelor, when he is known among us to have been for many years a married man according to Muhammadan law. He was the husband of three wives, lawfully married according to law of the Koran.

"6. The following is the Notice which has been the immediate cause of the present Petition :—

" 'ABSTRACT OF CITATION.

" ' *In the Supreme Court of the Colony of Sierra Leone.*

" ' *In the Goods and Land of OSANUE COLE (Deceased).*

" ' To the next of kin (if any) and all other persons in general having or pretending to have any interest in the Real and Personal estate and effects of Osanue Cole late of Wilson Street, Fula Town, Freetown, in the Colony aforesaid Bachelor.

" ' TAKE NOTICE that a Citation has issued under the seal of the Supreme Court aforesaid on the 30th day of April 1903, whereby you are cited to appear within thirty days after the publication of this notice and accept or refuse letters of Administration of the real and personal estate and effects of Osanue Cole, late of Wilson Street, Fula Town aforesaid deceased or show cause why the same should not be granted to ASANEE COLE of Adam Street, Fula Town, aforesaid a Creditor of the said deceased with an intimation that in default of your appearance the said Letters of Administration will be granted to the said ASANEE COLE.

" ' Dated at Freetown this 30th day of April 1903.

" ' SAMUEL A. METZGER,

" ' *Acting Master and Registrar of Supreme Court.*

" ' Citation extracted by Samuel Francis Owens, of Oxford Street, Freetown, Proctor.'

"7. For Your Excellency's kind interposition and assistance in this matter,

"Your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

But not only are the Muhammadans suffering under the marriage laws enforced in the colonies. The Native Christians are also restless under it. It would appear that the marriage laws of the colony require revision for the comfort and happiness of the people. I was informed during my visit to the coast of a great many irregularities and inconvenience under the present system which subjects the people to laws which may be in vogue in England but are not at all suitable to the inhabitants of Sierra Leone and other West African colonies. As a rule, in these colonies soon after marriage, couples part and take up other alliances and so continue often during life. A law making divorce more easy for distressed couples could cure a great many evils and suppress a great deal of the immoral life now prevalent. It is the opinion of the best thinking natives with whom I have conversed that Sierra Leone and its protectorate in which the aboriginal element largely predominates, and from which native ideas of religion and marriage and property have never been effectually expelled, should be relieved from the strain and pressure of English law on these subjects. The laws and customs of the natives should receive more study and greater recognition by the Government. Miss Kingsley's words, which I quote below, should be kept carefully before all those in influential positions who have to do with West Africa.

"It is by no means necessary that the African should have any white culture at all to become a decent member of society at large. Quite the other way about, for the percentage of honourable and reliable men among the bushmen is higher than among the educated men."

This appears also to be the view of Mr. James Stanley Little with reference to the treatment of the Kaffirs in South Africa, for in the course of an article upon "The Enemies of South Africa"¹ that gentleman says:—

"It is argued by many that to increase the needs of the native by educating him and also by paying him higher wages can but

¹ Published in the *New Century Review*, August, 1897.

benefit the white man, who will be employed in increased numbers to supply those needs. Persons who think the highest glory of our country lies in maintaining and increasing those activities by which we have made ourselves the purveyors of shoddy, of inartistic and tawdry superfluities, for the greater part of the world, will be attracted by this argument. The best service we can do the Kaffir, however, is to encourage him to simplify rather than amplify his requirements. To stimulate in him a passion for superfluous finery, cheap literature, and all the banalities dear to the average European, is to degrade him and to rob him of the very qualities, his content with essentials, in which he rises far above his superiors. The argument is only a few degrees less pernicious than that which justifies the sale of alcohol to natives on the score of the benefit it does to individual Englishmen, and the gain accruing to the public exchequers of the various white communities. No one who has seen the baneful effect of drink on the South African native will question Khama's wisdom in keeping it, so far as he has been able, out of his country. The man who encourages the natives to drink is a criminal, while men who encourage them to forsake the simple modes of life and to ape the ways of Europeans are scarcely less culpable. The aim of South African legislation should be to keep the native as much as possible where he is."

At the present time within the colony of Sierra Leone there are three distinct classes of individuals :—

1. Pagan races.
2. Muslims.
3. Professing Christians.

As the law now stands the law courts of the colony practically bastardise and disinherit the first two classes, who form more than 95 per cent. of the total population of the area subject to the jurisdiction of the courts. This is a manifest injustice and a source of great dissatisfaction to the indigenous population.

To remedy this evil I would suggest that within every district careful enquiry should be made by the District Commissioner, assisted by the chiefs and by the Sheikh, Alimannis and Alfas of the Muslim communities, into the native laws or customs dealing with the subjects of

(a) Marriage and property generally.

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(b) The status of the wife with respect to the property of her husband.

(c) The devolution of property to children or next of kin.

When these have been definitely ascertained and considered they should be codified and officially promulgated.

An ordinance should be passed by the Legislative Council commanding such an enquiry, and provision could be made therein for :—

The promulgation from time to time by Order of the Governor in Council, within the district affected.

(i) Of the native law or custom on the subjects (a), (b) and (c) hereinbefore mentioned.

(ii) Of the appointment of marriage officers within each district.

(iii) For the proper recording and registration by such officials of all Pagan and Islamic marriages ; and

(iv) For the recognition and enforcement of the native marriage and property laws or customs by the courts of the colony and the Protectorate.

With respect to the peoples professing Christianity, taking into account their immediate antecedents, and the natives from whom accession to their ranks is sought and obtained, there should be legislation engrafting upon the existing law some of the milder features of European marriage laws, marking the transition from a less restricted system of marriage, and recognising in a degree natural law.

(i) Provision should be made for legitimising any child born out of wedlock, as in the Code Napoleon.

(ii) Provision should be made for legitimising children born before wedlock to parents who subsequently marry. This is provided for in the marriage laws of almost all the Christian countries of the world except England; it is agreeable to the law of the Isle of Man and several British colonies, particularly those in Australia, and it is also in accordance with the marriage laws of the Jews.

(iii) Provision should be made recognising that children cannot be *bastards* in relation to their mother, as in the Dutch law ; so that the *natural children* of a woman who may

never have been married would be recognised as the *legal heirs* of their mother.

- (iv) Provision might also be made giving legal status of a kind to a woman in this colony standing in relation to a man similar to the *morganatic wife* in Germany and Russia.

These modifications of the existing European law of marriage in the colony of Sierra Leone, and the formal recognition and promulgation of Islamic and Pagan native customs, a law on the subjects of marriage and property of the peoples of the colony and Protectorate, would, in my opinion, do much to help forward the social well-being of the whole community.

It would certainly demonstrate that the British Government earnestly desired to study and understand the *native social systems*, and to give legal recognition to the settled and established native laws or customs which operate continuously upon the daily life and conduct of the people governed, to the end that upon the ever vital and all important subjects of marriage and property there shall be, humanely speaking, no uncertainty whatever; and that in every disputed case the question at issue shall be settled strictly in accordance with the established customs or laws of the people among whom the dispute may arise. The *oldest inhabitant* of every district of this colony and Protectorate who is the *legal* authority on matters concerning the "customs of the district" is as needful and as useful in Africa as in every other part of the world.

Legislation on the lines herein indicated would produce beneficial effects upon the life and conduct of the people and be an object lesson to the natives, teaching them that British rule means, not only expensive and often murderous punitive expeditions and heavy taxation, but also home rule and security of life and property, liberty of conscience, justice to all communities, and the peaceful enjoyment of the comforts, the happiness, and the restfulness of family life.

ABDALLAH QUILLIAM,
Sheikh-al-Islam of the British Isles.

THE MISSIONARY IN WEST AFRICA

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

SIR,—I should like to make some remarks on a brief paper by the Attorney-General of Sierra Leone which appeared in the last July number of the Journal.

The inferences suggested by his communication are, I think, unwarrantable. Let me recapitulate the indictment.

In the Mendi rising of 1898 some leaders were former pupils of the missionaries. The object of the movement was to wipe out the missionary entirely. Devoted workers were slaughtered by the very men for whose spiritual uplifting they were spending their lives. Many chiefs were educated at Missionary Schools in Freetown, and for years missionaries had been personally at work in the Protectorate area. Evangelism seemed to be flourishing when—presto!—suddenly the native strikes and sweeps away the missionary. This native is neither cruel nor wantonly savage. How is his determination to stamp out the missionary to be explained? It could scarcely be called revolt against "*method*"! The entire situation was so simple as to be reduced to two alternatives—the wrong one was chosen—the natives were no longer able to bear it, and the most determined feature of the rebellion was the retribution meted out to the unfortunate missionaries who did the right thing in the wrong way!

Where experts are puzzled, the Attorney-General has formed this lucid and simple solution of the terrible rising—and this, too, after only twelve months residence.

But more seriously : while expressing a general sympathy with the demand for better methods, allow me to entirely dissent from Mr. Hudson's way of explaining the Mendi rising and its

objects. It was in no sense anti-missionary or specifically intended to sweep him away root and branch.

On his own showing this calamity followed the "*recently* proclaimed Protectorate." However did he manage to overlook the significance of the relation of these two things? Before the Protectorate was proclaimed the missionaries had had years of undisturbed work—the proclamation was one of the direct causes of the outbreak.

The Protectorate brought the Hut Tax, which roused intense feeling and bitter opposition. This was expressed in tribal gatherings and deputations to the Governor in Freetown. To the natives it appeared an intolerable injustice that they should be forced to pay rent to the Government for living in their own houses. Mr. Hudson entirely ignores this inflammable factor. It is too trifling to be mentioned.

The Protectorate inevitably included the abolition of slavery and certain other institutions dear to the Mendi heart. Commissioners were, in a sense, to supplant the chiefs—native policemen to become more powerful than headmen—"English Law" was to substitute native ideas of justice. It was revolution by Sierra Leone Government, and they tried to cast it off by revolution of another kind. It roused the Timanes to battle and brought the Mendi war-boys on the trail. Strange that the Attorney General should have passed over these vital elements of the case and made the missionary the target of all this passion.

The truth is, there was not a single factor in the whole situation offering the slightest justification for the assertion that "the aim of the leaders appeared to be to wipe out the missionary entirely." Even granting there were some renegade pupils among the leaders, they were few indeed compared with the numbers who risked their lives to save their teachers.

The rising was really an attempt to cast off British rule, sweep away everything English, and drive the Sierra Leonean back to the Colony. There is not the slightest evidence that any discrimination was exercised, or any special spleen vented. Government quarters, trading centres, mission stations, *were all equally assailed*; and in every case where defence was inadequate, they raided, looted, and murdered to their hearts' content.

The missionaries were not singled out for any special manifestation of hate—indeed my colleague, Rev. C. H. Goodman, was spared and held in captivity for two months, being ultimately sent back in safety to the Halfway camp. It is very disappointing to find a Government official attempting to discredit missionaries and their methods by writing anything so far from the truth as that this rising was intended to sweep them away. If that were true how could he account for the fact that at the present moment the work “swept away” has not only been re-established but extended, and promises to be more successful than before?

In order to substantiate the views I express, let me quote a few sentences from the late Sir David Chalmers’ Report on the Rising.

“The Hut Tax, together with the measures used for its enforcement, were the moving causes of the insurrection. The tax was obnoxious to the feelings and customs of the people. There was a widespread belief that it was a means of taking away their rights in their country and in their property.” “Repugnance to the tax was much aggravated by the sudden, uncompromising, and harsh method by which it was endeavoured to be brought into operation, not merely by the acts of native policemen, but in the whole scheme adopted by the Colonial authorities.” “If I could have found that the insurrection was the result of an inevitable conflict between ancient barbarism and an advancing civilisation I would gladly have taken this view, but to have done this would not have been consistent with the faithful discharge of the Commission with which I have been entrusted.”

So much for the *real* causes and objects of the rising. As to the value of the work done by missionaries in the Protectorate let the following excerpts suffice. The first is from the Commissioner, the second from the (then) Governor, Sir F. Cardew.

“I consider it ought to be a part of the Government policy, not only to give facilities for missionaries settling in the Hinterland, but to give them substantial encouragement.” “I cordially concur with the Royal Commissioner in his recommendations as regards missionary efforts I venture to

take this opportunity of placing on record the good work done by missionaries in the Protectorate, not alone in preaching the Gospel to the natives, but also in teaching them industries."

I trust this communication may find a place in your Journal, and that it may correct the natural, but erroneous impression likely to be conveyed by Mr. Hudson's letter. I have watched with deep interest the formation of the African Society and find myself in ardent accord with almost its entire programme.

Very sincerely yours,

W. VIVIAN.

(Late of Sierra Leone.)

"ST. ELMO," RISEA ROAD,
NEWPORT, MON.

THE AFRICAN TRAINING INSTITUTE, COLWYN BAY

THE African Training Institute, situated at Colwyn Bay, North Wales, has been established for the purpose of training the most intelligent and promising of African converts, as self-supporting native missionaries to minister to their brethren in the Dark Continent. The founder, the Rev. W. Hughes, was himself once a missionary on the Congo, and from his own experiences while at work there, evolved the idea of the College, which he afterwards founded.

The unhealthiness of the climate of the West Coast of Africa to Europeans is too well known to need comment, and in addition to this great foe, which saps his strength and makes all exertion peculiarly difficult, the European missionary is a stranger to the people, ignorant at first of their language, and imperfectly acquainted with their affairs, their poverty, history, and wrongs. In all races and in all classes "like appeals to like." The native convert can enter into and understand the prejudices, superstitions, the ways of thought of his heathen brethren, with a fulness of sympathy which the most devoted of European missionaries naturally cannot possess. They look on from without, the native sees from within. To the natives the language will present no difficulty, and the climate is their native element, to which they are well used.

In addition to the great risk which the European missionary has to take in respect to the climate, he and his work will cost annually about £500 to any missionary society; whilst the African Training Institute turns out the native of the land, who knows the climate, the language, and the people, free of charge, once his feet are on the soil of his native land.

From this statement alone it is evident to all that this scheme is at once both practical and economical, and the value of these two points should not be overlooked.



[Face p. 104.]

PRESENT STUDENTS AND STAFF OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTE.

Each student receives an ordinary course of English school training, and special attention is given to his Scriptural education. He is also taught some useful trade or profession, by which, on his return to his native land, he may earn his own livelihood, beside teaching his heathen brethren such useful handicrafts as Printing, Tailoring, Carpentry, Ironworking &c., &c. Then some students take up the study of medicines, so that they may minister to the diseased among their fellow countrymen, knowing that the "doctor" is always a respected personage in negro communities. So these young men, when they return, hope to be a powerful civilising medium, and one which will introduce no evil or degrading practices along with the work of civilisation.

One of the students at present under the care of the African Training Institute has recently passed his third professional examination, with honours, as a medical student, in Edinburgh. He has passed all his examinations with honours, and is now waiting to go up for his Final, when he will return to Africa to take up his projected work among his fellow-countrymen.

Another student called Charlie Stewart, (who was a slave in Liberia six years ago, and then did not know a word of English, but is able now to speak acceptably to any English audience) will return to that part of West Africa in October. It is his intention to proceed to the scene of his childhood, along with several other native Christians from the Coast, and there form a new colony, and farm the land. A brief account of this young man will show what Christian training and the lessons of civilisation are able to do. He saw his father and mother beheaded by another tribe, who fell upon them suddenly in the dawn. He was made to carry the very sword that beheaded his parents. He was sold many times, when a boy of 12 or 13, from one master to another. At last, a good-hearted negro missionary from America, who had been a slave himself until the time of the American Emancipation, took a journey to the interior of Liberia. Chance directed his attention to Charlie, and he resolved, there and then, to redeem him from slavery; this he did with ten kegs of gunpowder:—value 30s. in English money.

He brought him to the coast, and taught him in school, where

he made gradual progress in English and other elementary subjects. After two years' work he accompanied the missionary to England, and thence to America. Together they visited negro churches and institutes in America, and roused the educated negroes of the United States to practical sympathy with the educational work commenced and projected in the Dark Continent.

After more than a year in America, the missionary brought Stewart to the African Training Institute (Colwyn Bay), and left him there to be trained; he himself returning to his field of labour in Liberia. Now Charlie Stewart has finished his course in the Institute and is going to the West coast in company with other students from Colwyn Bay who were trained with him. Together they will proceed to the interior of Liberia—200 miles—to the very place where Stewart was a slave. They will take to farms in the district, and will endeavour to do good among their uncivilised brethren.

It is hoped that the results of their work may further commend the African Training Institute at Colwyn Bay to all persons feeling an intelligent interest in the civilisation of Africa by Africans.

H. CHADWICK.

LITERARY NOTES

The Birds of Fernando Po, by Boyd Alexander, F.Z.S., Rifle Brigade. (Reprinted from *The Ibis*, British Ornithologists' Union.)

MR. ALEXANDER, who had previously explored the Gold Coast and its interior with a view to ornithological collections, decided in 1902 to make a journey to the interesting island of Fernando Po in the Bight of Biafra. The result of his researches has been republished from *The Ibis* in the form of a small book, illustrated with an excellent map of Fernando Po, and coloured illustrations of several new birds by Mr. Boyd Alexander. We are not aware whether the book is for sale, but it is sufficiently interesting from the general point of view of African research to be added to all libraries dealing with Africa. The author has kindly presented a copy to the African Society.

The island which is the subject of this small book is about 44 miles in length by 20 broad. It lies off the coast of the Cameroons, from which it is only separated by an average distance of 30 miles. (The depth of the channel between Fernando Po and the mainland is only 290 feet.) It would seem in fact to be only a detached volcanic mass which was once connected continuously with the huge extinct volcano of the Cameroons and further to the south-south-west with the volcanic islands of Principe, St. Thomas, and Anno Bom. We can form no exact appreciation of the period which has elapsed since Fernando Po was part of the African mainland, but that it must have had this connection with the continent is clear from its possession of a Mammalian fauna, which could scarcely have swum the intervening strait of sea. It is inhabited by a very low race of Negroes, akin in origin to some of the tribes of the Cameroon mainland, though offering also physical resemblances to the Congo Pygmies. It is remarkable that all these indigenous tribes of Fernando Po speak debased Bantu languages which are nearly allied to those spoken along the western front of the Cameroons volcano.¹ They differ however sufficiently widely from the Isubu and other Cameroons dialects to lead us to suppose that several hundred years must have

¹ One of which, the Bakwiri, was illustrated in the July No. of this Journal.

elapsed since the Bantu invaders crossed over to Fernando Po and imposed their Bantu speech on all the population of that island.

The culminating peak of the principal extinct volcano of Fernando Po (Clarence Peak) attains an altitude of 10,800 feet.¹ The principal indigenous mammals are a flying squirrel and two antelopes of the genus *Cephalophus*; also a tree-hyrax which is one of the principal sources of food to the natives.

The bird fauna is singularly rich, and has some remarkable characteristics. Thirty-four species of birds are restricted in their distribution to the island of Fernando Po. Fifty-five of them are found elsewhere in West Africa. Two species are only found elsewhere in East Africa, and thirty-four species are of general African distribution. It is interesting to note that besides the two species of birds, the plants on the elevated mountains above 8,000 feet are, like those of the Cameroons peak, of Abyssinian affinities.

Mr. Boyd Alexander's work in regard to Fernando Po is of that value which must always be attached to precise and accurate information.

Gold Coast Native Institutions, by Casely Hayford. (Sweet and Maxwell, Chancery Lane. 15s.)

MR. CASELY HAYFORD has written a book of considerable weight and interest on the Gold Coast Native Institutions. It is not exaggerating to describe this book as a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the British Empire. It first of all takes us through the native institutions on the Gold Coast and in Ashanti, showing what is valuable for retention in the way of local government and what is prejudicial to the advance of the Negro population. Mr. Hayford makes out a strong case for the policy of governing the natives as much as possible through their native-born rulers. He brings home to us once more the important fact that West Africa not being a country which can be colonised by Europeans (owing to the existence on the soil of a large native population, and a very unhealthy climate) we should as far as possible (whilst maintaining peace amongst all the tribes and being responsible for law and order) revive the power of native rulers, and make use of them as intermediaries in dealing with the mass of the population. In short, wherever native laws and customs do not tend towards barbarity, or check the full and free access to the country of law-abiding Europeans and other strangers, we should allow the natives in many respects to be governed by the natives.

¹ According to Mr. Boyd, and to old guesses; but German explorers compute its altitude at considerably less, some 9,850 feet.

There are some interesting appendices, especially Appendix B. which is a useful and trustworthy résumé of the history of the Gold Coast Colony. According to this appendix, British relations with this part of the West Coast of Africa actually commenced in the reign of Edward IV.—362 years ago (1481). Eighty-eight years after that date, when James I. was King of England, the first British fort was built (1624).

A good deal in this book is of a controversial nature as regards British Colonial policy, and is therefore not suited for discussion in the pages of this review.

Notes on the Somali Language, by J. W. C. Kirk, B.A. Cambs. (Lieutenant King's African Rifles). (Oxford University Press.)

LIEUTENANT KIRK'S excellent little handbook on the Somali language shows that a father distinguished above his fellows in regard to Imperial work in East Africa is being succeeded on the same lines [by his son. It is little less than a loss to the nation that Sir John Kirk, the author of so many able despatches to his Government on East African affairs, has never been induced to put on paper his extraordinary knowledge of East African questions. But his son, the author of the little book we are reviewing, shows that he has begun to grapple with East African problems at the right end, by striving to get into touch with the native mind. He has realised how important a factor in this respect is the language of the people. It is safe to say that had most of our officers and administrators in Somaliland been able to speak to the people in their own tongue not a few regrettable complications and mistakes would have been avoided. Considering that we have been concerned with the affairs of Somaliland since 1839, and that in many respects Somaliland is one of the most interesting portions of Africa, it is amazing that apparently no other English writer, with the exception of General Hunter, Lieutenant Kirk, and Sir Harry Johnston has dealt with the Somali language. In Sir Harry Johnston's recent work on the Uganda Protectorate there is a short vocabulary of the Somali tongue as spoken on the north coast round about Berbera.

The Somali language represents the dominant type of speech which is spoken over all Somaliland, and over the regions lying to the east, south, and south-west of Abyssinia. The Danákil tongue of the Afar country (the sterile region between Abyssinia and the Red Sea) is closely allied, as are of course all the Gala dialects. ('Gala' is merely a cant Abyssinian term for the heathen Hamitic races of southern Abyssinia which speak Hamitic, and not Semitic, languages.) This Somali-Gala group

of dialects belongs to the Hamitic family of languages, and is consequently related in a very distant but still appreciable manner to the Ancient Egyptian language. What is more, there are even traces of relationship with the Hausa and with the Libyan-Berber tongues. All this congeries of Hamitic, Berber, Libyan, Hausa languages offers distinct signs of ancient connection with the Semitic family.

There are also resemblances to Somali in grammar and in vocabulary to be found in some of the Nilotic Negro tongues, while in grammar alone there is a distinct resemblance to the structure of the Bantu family. In both these last instances however it would seem as though both the Somal and the Gala (representing the ancient Caucasian invasion of North-East Africa) have impressed the grammatical structure of their speech and some of its vocabulary on the Negro races with which they have come into contact.

It will be seen however from these indications how profoundly interesting the Somali language should be to students of Africa, and for this reason amongst others Lieutenant Kirk's handbook is particularly valuable.

The writer of this review has only this criticism to offer:— Lieutenant Kirk would have done better in his orthography to have adhered to the Lepsius' System of transliterating languages into the Roman alphabet. The Roman alphabet with the modifications introduced by Lepsius and a few later writers is quite adequate for the correct rendering of the sounds of all known forms of human speech; it is far more logical and accurate than any other alphabet. Lieutenant Kirk has however departed in one or two points (unconsciously) from the Lepsius System, as, for instance, when he renders the diphthong *au* by *ow*, and the aspirated *l* (*χl*) by *ll*, as in Welsh. Equally unfortunate is his use of *ch* to express the guttural which is now rendered by *x*. *Ch* should be reserved for the palatal sound in "church." These however are trifling mistakes, which could be well remedied in a second or third edition. In the meantime we may hope that Lieutenant Kirk will prosecute his linguistic enquiries to the utmost, and will attempt to collect specimens of the dialect of the Midgan tribe of nomad hunters, who are said to represent an aboriginal population, and to have a dialect which is not connected with Somali.

West Africa and Christianity, by the Rev. Mark C. Hayford, D.D., F.R.G.S. (Published for the Author by the Baptist Tract and Book Society, 16, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.)

THIS is an interesting and thoughtful contribution to Missionary literature. It aptly illustrates the broadening of the Missionary

point of view. The writer gives a most interesting and in some respects original résumé of the past history of West Africa, going back to the introduction of Islam from across the Sahara desert into the native Negro kingdoms of Bornu and Songhai. He then takes up the difficult subject of polygamy as considered from the point of view of Christianity. In this chapter he quotes remarks from the Bishop of Exeter which would seem to show that one at least of the Anglican bishops in India had after much investigation come to the conclusion that polygamists of Indian origin could not be refused admission to the Christian Church, though they were ineligible for pastoral offices. The subject is perhaps too controversial a one to be much discussed in the pages of this review, but the writer of the book, "West Africa and Christianity," would seem to leave us to draw these conclusions : (1) That polygamy as an institution is nowhere definitely forbidden in the New Testament, though it is held to be inconsistent with office in the Christian Church ; (2) That we should hesitate before attacking the legality of existing polygamous marriages in Africa ; and (3) That a state of polygamy would not be by any means inconsistent with the acceptance of the Christian religion. In any case, the essay is a thoughtful one, and well worthy of being read.

Great Benin, by H. Ling Roth. (F. King and Sons, Limited, Halifax, 1903.)

MR. LING ROTH has compiled a work of great interest and value, thoroughly sustaining his reputation as an expert ethnologist. The work is admirably illustrated by photographs of the wonderful Benin bronzes and by drawings and diagrams illustrating the arts and industries, religion and cruelties of Benin. Mr. Ling Roth has gone back to the earliest Dutch and Portuguese chronicles, and has quoted almost every direct authority on Benin down to the present day. He appears to have overlooked however a good deal of material contained in a Blue Book (a report to the Foreign Office) written by Sir Harry Johnston in 1888. This would have given him a good deal of information regarding the court of the Viceroy Nana, and also concerning the Bini language and the surrounding dialects related to it. Except for a chapter on the language which is unaccountably omitted, the book is singularly complete, and is quite a work of the first order, simply invaluable to students of Africa. Perhaps Mr. Ling Roth in further editions of this book (which should certainly be called for) will see his way to the compilation of a chapter on the language of Benin, which is of interest as showing relationship to tongues on the Niger and

also of those of Dahome. The Benin language is connected with the Jekri group, and with many of the tongues of the Lower Niger. The real linguistic problem of the Niger Delta (of which Benin must be held to constitute the western wing) lies in the language of Bonny and its related dialects. These are absolutely isolated, and so far as we know are without any relationships to any known African language.

The civilisation and art of Benin are certainly very remarkable; but in the main they are indigenous, certainly of African origin, though they were slightly susceptible to three influences. The first was an ancient westward wave of culture in metal work emanating from Egypt; the second was a far-off pulsation of Saracenic art, which by about the sixteenth century had reached the eastern bend of the Niger and had slowly permeated the Negro tribes as far as Benin, Ashanti, etc. The third influence, very potent in its effects, was the direct intercourse with the Portuguese. Portuguese civilisation at the end of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century made a profound impression on the minds of the Benin people. The bronze casting of Benin is the great interest and mystery of this western corner of the Niger Delta. This industry and art was in existence before the Portuguese discovery of the country. Where did the bronze come from (its component metals not being found in this part of Africa), and who introduced the system of casting by means of the *cire perdue* process? It would seem as if both came from the Niger and the North. Both may long antedate the introduction of Moslem civilisation from across the Sahara desert, and may be due to the direct influence of Ancient Egyptian civilisation, which undoubtedly extended from tribe to tribe westwards to Lake Chad and the Niger. It is interesting to observe that along this route there travelled apparently the big Gala oxen with their enormous horns which are so much associated at the present day with those aristocracies of Gala origin which are found in Eastern Equatorial Africa. This type of ox not only reached Lake Chad, but possibly extended even to the Upper Niger.

There are one or two trifling errors in Mr. Ling Roth's admirable book which should be corrected in subsequent editions. These are chiefly in the Latin names of birds, which require revision by an ornithologist.

A Swahili-English Dictionary, by A. C. Madan, M.A.
(Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1903. 7s. 6d. net.)

MR. MADAN, who is becoming our principal authority on the Swahili language, and who has already published several useful guides to that tongue, has now brought out through the Clarendon

Press, Oxford, an excellent Swahili-English Dictionary. It is almost as rich in allusions and comprehensiveness as the work of the celebrated Krapf, without the extraordinarily inaccurate spelling which was the one blot on that magnificent compilation of linguistic research. Unfortunately, those brave missionaries, Krapf, Erhardt, and Rebmann possessed that curious German inability to distinguish between light and heavy breathings of the consonants. Thus they could never distinguish between the sounds of *d* and *t*, *b* and *p*, *f* and *v*, *ch* and *j*, *s* and *z*, and so on. Not only could they not distinguish them, but as often as not they transposed them, with the most inaccurate results, so that when the word was quoted no native recognised it. They would spell *mbovu*, "*mpofu*," and vice versa. Moreover Krapf's great Dictionary (invaluable to the philologist) imports into Swahili a great many words really not belonging to that dialect at all, but to other African languages.

We have looked carefully through Mr. Madan's dictionary, and have failed to detect any errors. It contains a great deal of new information, and it is hoped that it will be supplemented by a companion volume of English-Swahili.

The exact origin of the Swahili language is still unsettled. Broadly speaking, it is a Bantu dialect from the East Coast of Africa into which a good many Arab words have been imported. But it is nevertheless essentially Bantu in its structure. It is known to have been in existence several centuries ago at such places as Patta and Lamu, but it is quite incorrect to state that its Bantu substance was the local speech of those Arab and Persian settlements in Equatorial East Africa. On the contrary, the nearest relationships of Swahili lie with the Bantu speech of the coast belt a little to the south of Zanzibar, in fact, more in the direction of Kilwa. It will probably be found that the language had its origin in the early Arab settlements which were founded in and to the north of Kilwa.

The language has long been associated with the island of Zanzibar, where it is now almost universally spoken, but Bishop Steere was able to show that the older Bantu language of Zanzibar spoken by the Wahadimu was not closely allied to Swahili, but had more affinity with the Nyika languages on the coast near Mombasa.

Swahili is a melodious and easily pronounced language, by no means difficult to learn, and most apt and expressive. Beyond all question it is destined to become the Hindustani, the French of the eastern section of Africa, between Somaliland and the White Nile on the north and the Zambezi on the south, and westwards as far as the Congo Free State. Indeed, as the writer of this review can testify, its use is spreading considerably

up and down the main course of the Congo, and it is quite conceivable that Swahili may become the lingua franca of the Congo Free State as well as of British, German, and Portuguese East Africa.

Orthography of native names in Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan.

WE have received from the Government of the Egyptian Sudan a copy of a pamphlet issued at Cairo giving the orthography of native names, places, persons, etc., in Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan. In the main this official orthography agrees with that of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Indian Government. But where it differs, it is in the regrettable direction of reverting to the incorrect and inaccurate transliteration of Arabic and African names which in Egypt especially was partly due to old French influence. The main point on which the Sudan Government is determined is that Khartum should be spelt in the old French fashion—Khartoum. To this we are afraid neither the Royal Geographical Society nor the African Society will be able to agree. It is said that the insistence on "Khartoum" is due to the personal predilection on the part of Lord Kitchener, who at the time of his taking his title was afraid that the place with which his name was so honourably connected would have been pronounced by the British public "Khartumm" (to rhyme with drum). If there is any truth in this story, we think that the first Governor-General of the Sudan was wrong. It would very soon have been realised by the public that Khartum was to be pronounced phonetically, the *u* receiving the long sound given to it in *plume*. In some other points also the Egyptian orthography is retrograde. We cannot help thinking that it would have been far more satisfactory if the Government of the Egyptian Sudan and British writers on Egypt had adopted without change the excellent and logical orthography established by the Government of British India. That Government has to deal with almost as much Arabic in its transactions as is the case with the Governments of Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan, and throughout the whole of the British Empire there should be but one standard of official orthography in these matters. In this respect the African Society is bound to continue its adhesion to the spelling adopted by the Royal Geographical Society and Indian Government.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Second Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held in the Theatre of the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on Friday, June 26th, 1903, at 3.30 p.m., Sir John Smalman Smith, M.A., J.P., in the Chair.

Among those present were Mr. J. H. Batty, Mrs. Roy Batty, Dr. E. W. Blyden, Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, Mr. Walrond B. Clarke, Mrs. J. R. Green, Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., K.C.B., G.C.I.E., Mr. George A. Macmillan, D.Litt., Mr. F. Swanzy, Miss A. Werner, and the Count de Cardi, Hon. Secretary.

The Count de Cardi, Hon. Secretary, read the minutes of the First Anniversary Meeting, held July 8th, 1902.

The Chairman read the following letter from the Right Hon. Lord Avebury, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., D.L., President of the Society :—

“6, ST. JAMES' SQUARE, S.W.

26th June, 1903.

“DEAR COUNT DE CARDI,—I had hoped to have been present this afternoon, but have to go into the country on business, and cannot get back in time.

“Please make my excuses and especially to Sir H. Johnston.

“I am,

“Yours truly,

“AVEBURY.”

The Hon. Secretary then read the Balance Sheet and reported upon same.

The Chairman moved that the Balance Sheet be received and adopted.

Mrs. J. R. Green seconded.

The motion was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Chairman proposed to elect the following new members of Council nominated for election in place of those who retire by rotation :—

New Members :

E. Sidney Hartland, Esq., F.S.A.,
John Holt, Esq.,
George A. Macmillan, Esq., D.Litt.,
Lt-Col. A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.,
F. G. Hilton Price, Esq.,
H. Ling Roth, Esq.

Retire by Rotation :

John Holt, Esq.,
George A. Macmillan, Esq., D.Litt.,
Dr. Patrick Manson, C.M.G.,
J. L. Myres, Esq., F.S.A.,
Professor W. Ridgeway.,
H. Ling Roth, Esq.

Mr. F. Swanzy seconded, and the motion was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then proposed the election of the Count de Cardi as Honorary Secretary.

Mr. Walrond B. Clarke seconded, and the motion was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then proposed the election of Colonel J. G. B. Stopford as Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. F. Swanzy seconded, and the motion was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then proposed the election of Rear-Admiral G. W. Hand and Mr. Cyril Eade as Honorary Auditors and of Messrs. Wing and Eade as Honorary Solicitors.

Mr. J. H. Batty seconded the motion, which was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then announced that Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., had been nominated by the Council President for the ensuing year, and introduced Sir H. H.

Johnston, who then took the Chair and thanked the Society for having elected him.

The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., K.C.B., G.C.I.E., then proposed a very cordial vote of thanks to the Right Hon. Lord Avebury, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., D.L., the retiring President.

Mr. F. Swanzy seconded the motion, which was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Chairman, Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., then proposed a vote of thanks to the Honorary Officers of the Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, and on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

This ended the business of the meeting.

The Anniversary Meeting was followed at 4.30 p.m. by the First Ordinary General Meeting of the Session 1903-1904, which was largely attended.

Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., delivered his Presidential Address on "The Work of the African Society."

Dr. E. W. Blyden then delivered an Address on "West Africa before Europe."

(Both these Addresses were published in the July number of the Journal.)

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1902-1903

22 ALBEMARLE STREET, W.,

June 26th, 1903.

IN the last Report presented to the members of this Society, I was able to announce to you an increase of membership for the year then past of 157 members. This year the increase is 85 and 8 candidates for election, making in all an increase of 93 members. We now number 406 members.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death of five of our members. Mr. Edwin Cade, Dr. W. H. Crosse, Mrs. Kent, the Rev. F. W. Read, Mr. John H. Ozanne, C.M.G.

Four of our members have resigned. Three of our members have been taken off the list under Rule 9.

Five names that were on the list of members have been transferred to the Donors' list, making in all 17 members taken off our Members' list.

On the 31st of March this year we had 136 members in arrears, two for three years, since paid, 34 for two years and 100 for one year. We have received since £41 1s. 0d. on this account.

In a Society like this with its members scattered all over the interior of Africa this is unavoidable. I am however pleased to say that every now and then one of these members either sends us a cheque or walks into the office and pays his or her subscription. I may here mention that we do not treat these outstanding subscriptions as an asset of the Society as you will see by the accounts.

Another very good asset of the Society, which we do not treat as an asset in the accounts until sold, is our stock of back numbers of the Journals which are being gradually bought up by our new members.

The sales of our Journals through Messrs Macmillan and Co. are gradually increasing with each issue.

In the past we experienced considerable difficulty in getting suitable papers for the Journal, but latterly many of our members have greatly assisted us, and the outlook for the session 1903-1904 is very encouraging.

We have also had considerable difficulty in getting papers read at our meetings, but we have every reason to think we shall be more successful this session.

I have the pleasure to inform the members that our exchange of publications with Continental Societies interested in the study of African questions has increased during the year.

The Foreign Office and the Colonial Office are annual subscribers, and in March last the Sudan Government Intelligence Office also became an annual subscriber.

In conclusion, I think I may say that we look forward to the coming session with much hopefulness. Our chief need is to increase our membership, which would enable us to enlarge our sphere of work, and if only members would not rest content with belonging to the Society themselves and thinking that they have thereby fulfilled their duty to Africa and its interests, but would make a definite effort to induce others to join, the future of the Society would be assured.

C. DE CARDI,
Hon. Secretary.

MEMORANDUM.

EXPENDITURE AND RECEIPTS FOR YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1903.

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Cost of Four Journals	429	9	9	Balance from 31st March, 1902 ... ..	...	...	...
Rent	50	0	0	Annual Subscriptions Account... ..	£394	14	0
Salary	52	0	0	Life ditto	36	15	0
Petty Cash	67	18	3	Donations	61	1	0
Travelling and Incidental Expenses connected with the Society under Vote 3, passed 24/7/1902... ..	32	0	0	Interest on Deposits ... ..	...	...	...
Hire of room for Lectures, &c.	13	13	0	Advertisements ... ..	...	...	...
Stationery and Miscellaneous Expenses... ..	83	7	8½	Sales of Journals ... ..	...	...	...
Balance at 31st March, 1903	1,035	5	5	Miscellaneous Receipts ... ..	...	...	...
	£1,763	14	1½		492	10	0
					37	12	11
					95	14	0
					52	4	9
					24	12	7½
					£1,763	14	1½

BALANCE SHEET OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY ON THE 31st MARCH, 1903.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Royal Asiatic Society	12	10	0	By Cash in London and County Bank on Current Account... ..	161	5	5
Richard Clay & Sons	73	5	2	Cash in London and County Bank on Deposit Account	400	0	0
Count de Cardi	13	2	4	Cash in Bank of British West Africa on Cash in Bank of British West Africa on Current Account	28	9	7
Edward Stanford	6	0	0	Cash in Bank of British West Africa on Deposit Account	500	0	0
E. Nottingham... ..	0	8	6	Office Furniture and Requisites	54	3	4
Assistant Secretary	13	0	0	Sundry Open Accounts:			
R. E. Dennett... ..	0	2	11	Hardy Patent Pick Co.	3	0	0
G. Davenport	1	11	6	Newton, Chambers & Co.	3	0	0
Joseph Collard... ..	2	1	6	Robey & Co.	3	0	0
Phillip & Son	2	0	0	Ross, Limited	3	0	0
				Portable Building Co.	3	0	0
				Luzac & Co.	0	9	0
					15	9	0
Balance, net capital this day	1,035	5	5		£1,159	7	4
	£1,159	7	4				

The above statement has been checked by us and found correct.

G. W. HAND, } Hon. Auditors.
CYRIL WADE. }

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED SEPTEMBER 21, 1903.

- CUNNINGHAM, J. F., Secretary to the Government of Uganda, Headquarters, Uganda, East Africa.
 CUNNINGHAM, Mrs. J. F., Headquarters, Uganda, East Africa.
 HARMON, S. G.
 HAYFORD, Casely, Anona Chambers, Axim, Gold Coast, West Africa.
 HORNE, Mrs. Elizabeth, 18, Greencroft Gardens, South Hampstead, N.W.
 HOUSTON, James W. N., Liberia Recorder's Club, Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa.
 KING, Charles D. B., LL.B., Attorney, "National Echo," Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa.
 LANE, John M., Acting Harbour Master, Lagos, West Africa.
 MANGENA, Alfred, 2, Rochester Square, Camden Town, N.W.
 MARKE, Charles, Wellington House, Howe Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
 MILLER, F. A. (Clerk of Councils, Sierra Leone), Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
 NEWTON, Frank Montague Nort, British South Africa Company, Fort Jameson, North Eastern Rhodesia.
 NEWTON, George Humphreys, 62, Addison Road, Kensington, W.
 ORMSBY, Sydney, Uganda Protectorate Service, Entebbe, Uganda, East Africa.
 ORR, Captain C. W. J., R.A., The Residency, Zaria, Zaria Province, Northern Nigeria, West Africa.
 OSBORNE, Frederick George, Lagos, West Africa.
 PAGE, George William, Assistant District Commissioner, Karene District, Batkanu, Karene District, The Protectorate, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
 ROBERTSON, Rev. William Govan, The London Missionary Society, Central African Mission, Lake Tanganyika, North Eastern Rhodesia.
 SCHOLE, Theo E. Samuel, M.D., 17, Rochester Square, N.W.
 SPURGEON, James Robert, LL.D. (late United States Secretary of Legation and Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim, Monrovia), Monrovia, Liberia, West Coast of Africa.
 VROOM, Hendrik, F.R.G.S., A.M.Inst.M.M., A.S.E., C.E., M.E., Elmina, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa.

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED OCTOBER 19, 1903.

- COLE, George William, (Chief Clerk, Colonial Treasury, Sierra Leone), Sykes Street, Ascension Town, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.
 DAWSON, John Eugène, J.P., F.R.G.S., 4, Park Place, St. James's, S.W.
 NIGHTINGALE, Arthur, H.B.M. Consul, British Consulate, St. Paul de Loanda, South West Africa.
 SETON, Malcolm Cotter Cariston, B.A. (Oxon.), India Office, S.W.
 SPEIGHT E. E., c/o A. F. Major, Esq., 30, The Waldrons, Croydon.
 TYLER, Harold William, F.R.G.S., M.I.E.E., Assistant Superintendent of Telegraphs, Entebbe, Uganda, via Mombasa, British East Africa.

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